THE HISTORY OF THE English Baptists,

FROM

The REFORMATION to the Beginning of the Reign of King GEORGE I.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

Their HISTORY to the RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

By THO. CROSBY.

LONDON,

Printed for, and Sold by, the EDITOR, either at his House in *Vine-Street, Minories*; or at his House upon *Horse-ly-down, Southwark*.

MDCCXXXVIII.

ENGLISH BAPTISMS

FROM

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MDCCLXXVIII.

TO THE READER.

I AM well aware, that some things contained in this history may awaken prejudice, censure, or displeasure, and occasion objections and offence, both to the treatise and my self. And I know that some have already declared their opinion, that facts which bring no credit to the persons of whom they are related, ought to be buried in oblivion. But such persons seem to me to be very ignorant of the duty of an historian. In answer to whom I shall only observe, that those heretical persons of the denomination of Baptists, on whom the sword of the magistrate fell so heavy, are yet upon record, and not omitted even by so late an author as the reverend Mr. Neal, and so exposed to the view of men from age to age. Therefore I thought it needful, as well as just, to have these things set in a clear open light, to disabuse all those who may have been imposed upon by false or partial and defective history in this matter, and to remove, or prevent, or allay, scandal, or censure, for time to come; and I am apt to think that many readers now and hereafter would have thought me partial, had I not taken notice of them. Neither do I think that it reflects any odium on the English Baptists, that some of their opinion in the point of Baptism, have been charged with heretical notions and heterodox opinions. Name me that body of christians in the world, which may not be equally, if not more, chargeable with the same. And yet I doubt not, God hath many faithful servants in this kingdom, among st all the denominations of christians, who notwithstanding the imputation of heresy and heterodoxy charged on them by others, will be found among the blessed in the kingdom of glory.

And as it is utterly unreasonable to impute the miscarriages of some, to the rest of that body to which they

belong, until they profeſs and manifeſt their approbation of them; ſo it is much more unreaſonable to impute the miſcarriages *and* bad principles *of perſons long ſince dead, to* thoſe, *who in ſome one point, now believe and act as they did, but own not, nor abet either their* bad principles, *or their* practical enormities.

Now though many, even of the learned, *and ſo late an* author *as Mr.* Neal, *from whom we might have looked for more chriſtian treatment, have made it their buſineſs to repreſent the* Anabaptiſts, *as they are pleaſed in contempt to ſtile them, in* odious colours, *and to write many* bitter things, *even* notorious falſhoods *concerning them, nay,* to faſten *doctrines upon them, which they never approved; yet, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel of this* hiſtory, *no one ſect of chriſtians in this kingdom have merited more the favour and good eſteem of their* governours *and* chriſtian brethren, *by their peaceable carriage and behaviour towards them, than they have done. What* ſect *of chriſtians have ſhewed the like contentedneſs under the deprivations which the* legiſlature *has ſeen needful to lay upon the* Diſſenters *in general, than they? Who have been more content with the liberty allowed them by law than they? But not to be tedious in an epiſtolary way, I ſhall refer the* reader *to the work itſelf, and leave him to judge whether I deſerve to be* reproached *for avoiding partiality.*

He that conſiders the great trouble and pains that muſt attend the reading ſo many voluminous books, *to take in the compaſs of ſo many years included in this* hiſtory; *and the perplexing thoughts and difficulties under which an* author *labours, whoſe principal end is to ſet things in a juſt and fair light, will, if he be candid, eaſily paſs by ſmall faults and little inadvertencies; but if there ſhall appear in the courſe of this* hiſtory *any conſiderable miſtakes, I ſhall hold my ſelf obliged to ſuch* gentlemen, *who ſhall be pleaſed to repreſent them, promiſing to take the firſt opportunity that ſhall preſent, to retract or amend the ſame.*

Tho. Croſby.

THE PREFACE.

WHOEVER writes a Book ſeems by cuſtom obliged to write a *preface* to it; wherein it is expected, he ſhould ſhew the motives which induced him to write the ſame.

'Tis now many years ſince the materials, of which a great part of this treatiſe is formed, came into my hands. Had the ingenious collector of them lived to digeſt them in their proper order, according to his deſign, they would have appeared much more beautiful and correct, than now they do. I might here expatiate in his praiſe, and ſay a great deal of my own knowledge, both as to his induſtry and acquirements: But, as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention him, I omit it here: And ſhall annex to this *preface* the ſeveral opinions of the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, which he deſigned as an introduction to his intended hiſtory of them; being

Mr. Benj. Stinton.

ing the only piece of that work which he had compleated.

I was in hopes ſome able hand would have undertaken to compleat what was wanting, in order to finiſh this work. To render the ſame leſs burthenſome to ſuch an undertaker, I employed my ſpare hours, in the beſt manner I could, to digeſt the materials in their proper order, and ſupply the vacancies; till at length, at the requeſt of two worthy *Baptiſt* miniſters, both ſince deceaſed, *Mr.* Wallin. *Mr.* Arnold. I communicated them to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, who had undertaken to write an *Hiſtory of the Puritans*; under which general name, I did apprehend the *Engliſh Baptiſts* might very well be included: And he had them in his hands ſome years.

The good character of the gentleman, with the importunity of my two friends afore-mentioned concurring (though I muſt confeſs it was with doubting) yet made me yield ſo to do. But I was ſurprized to ſee the ill uſe Mr. *Neal* made of theſe materials; and that the riſe and progreſs of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, their confeſſion of faith, their character, and their ſufferings, were contained in leſs than five pages of his third volume; and that too with very great partiality, as ſhall hereafter be proved.

And it is but too well known, concerning *Pædobaptiſt* authors in general, that when they have been neceſſitated to ſpeak in favour of the opinion of the *Baptiſts*, preſently a vail has been drawn over the ſame, either reſpecting their perſons, principles, or morals; ſo that it is not an eaſy thing for ſtrangers to form a right judgment of them; which

which makes an hiſtory of them neceſſary, without any further apology. Yet, conſidering the great variety of opinions and humours that are in this kingdom, and the coarſe treatment even of the moſt celebrated authors, upon the moſt ſublime ſubjects; a man had need have a good ſhare of courage, and a firm aſſurance of the juſtice of his cauſe, that ventures to appear publickly in ſuch a cenſorious age.

THE *Editor* does preſume he is thus ſupported; and declares, That what he has here written is purely deſigned to inform the honeſt and well-meaning Chriſtian, whether *Pædobaptiſt*, or *Baptiſt*; by whom he hopes it may be candidly received, in proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

Mr. *Neal*, in his preface, concludes thus: 'I am ſufficiently aware of the delicacy of the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tenderneſs of the ground I go over; and, though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the myſterious conduct of the ſeveral parties with all the indifference of a ſpectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the moſt important events, or to ſpeak freely without offence; therefore, if any paſſionate or angry writer ſhould appear againſt this, or any of the former Volumes, I humbly requeſt the reader to pay no regard to perſonal reflections, or to inſinuations of any ill deſigns againſt the eſtabliſh'd religion, or the publick peace, which are entirely groundleſs.' *Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III.*

'IN hiſtorical debates, ſays he, nothing 'is to be received upon truſt, but facts are to 'be examined, and a judgment formed upon 'the authority by which thoſe facts are ſup-'ported; by this method we ſhall arrive at 'truth: And if it ſhall appear, that, in the 'courſe of this long hiſtory, there are any 'conſiderable miſtakes, the world may be 'aſſured I will take the firſt opportunity to 'retract or amend them".

A NOBLE declaration, indeed! But let us now ſee how conſentaneous his repreſenta-tion of the *Engliſh Baptiſts* is thereto, eſpe-cially, conſidering what materials he was in-truſted with.

HE allows there were no leſs than fifty four congregations of them in *England* in the year 1644. and ſays:

Vol. III. p. 161. 'THEIR confeſſion [of faith] conſiſted of 'fifty two articles, and is ſtrictly *Calvini-'ſtical* in the doctrinal part, and according 'to the independant diſcipline; it confines 'the ſubject of baptiſm to grown Chriſtians, 'and the mode to dipping; it admits of 'gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a 'due ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate in all 'things lawful".

HE proceeds then to their character; which, in my opinion, is one piece of that *tender ground* he was to go over: And how careful he was of his temper and language, let the reader judge. For, ſays he,

Ib. p. 162. 'THE advocates of this doctrine were, 'for the moſt part, of the meaneſt of the 'people; their preachers were generally 'illiterate, and went about the countries 'making proſelytes of all that would ſub-

'mit

'mit to their immerſion, without a due re-
'gard to their acquaintance with the prin-
'ciples of religion, or their moral cha-
'racters".

WHAT a malicious ſlander is this! caſt upon a whole body of Chriſtians, conſiſting of fifty four congregations, according to his own acknowledgment! To me it ſeems unchriſtian, without ground, a fact unexamined, a judgment formed without any authority produced to ſupport the fact; and conſequently the reader left to form his judgment upon Mr. *Neal*'s *ipſe dixit*, repugnant to his noble declaration.

But leſt this ſhould not be enough, he concludes their character by adding thus:

'The people of this perſwaſion were more
'expoſed to the publick reſentments, becauſe
'they would hold communion with none but
'ſuch as had been dipped. All, ſays he,
'muſt *paſs under this cloud* before they
'could be received into their churches; and
'the ſame *narrow ſpirit* prevails too general-
'ly amongſt them even at this day".

THIS is a home ſtroke; and reaches the preſent as well as preceding ages. But I am verily perſwaded the preſent *Engliſh Baptiſts* will not be much affected with his raillery; ſince our bleſſed Lord and Saviour himſelf did not diſdain to *paſs under this cloud*, as Mr. *Neal* is pleaſed to phraſe it.

DR. *Featly*, writing againſt the *Baptiſts* in his day, ſays; 'He could hardly dip his pen
'in any other liquor, than the juice of gall".
And I find Mr. *Neal* has not only read the *Doctor*, becauſe he quotes him two or three times, but learned ſome of his language

too: What of wit he may imagine in ſuch kind of phraſeology, I know not; but ſure I am, *Chriſt's Ordinances* ought to be mentioned with more reverence, by thoſe who profeſs themſelves to be Chriſtians.

THE ingenious Dr. *Wall*, in his elaborate hiſtory of infant baptiſm, ſpeaking of the moſt ancient rites in baptiſm, acknowledges dipping to be ordinarily uſed in baptiſm. For, ſays he:

Vol. II. p. 291. 'THEIR general and ordinary way was 'to baptiſe by immerſion, or dipping the 'perſon, whether it were an infant, or grown 'man or woman, into the water. This, 'he adds, is ſo plain and clear, by an infinite 'number of paſſages, that as one cannot but 'pity the weak endeavours of ſuch *Pædo-baptiſts*, as would maintain the negative of 'it; ſo alſo we ought to diſown, and ſhew 'a diſlike of the profane ſcoffs which ſome 'people give to the *Engliſh Anti-Pædobaptiſts*, 'merely for their uſe of dipping. 'Tis one 'thing to maintain, that that circumſtance is 'not abſolutely neceſſary to the eſſence of 'baptiſm; and another, to go about to re-'preſent it as ridiculous and fooliſh, or as 'ſhameful and indecent; when it was, in all 'probability, the way by which our bleſſed 'Saviour, and for certain was the moſt uſual 'and ordinary way by which the ancient 'Chriſtians, did receive their baptiſm".

AND, ſpeaking of the preſent ſtate of the *Anti-Pædobaptiſts* in *England*, he ſays:

Ib. p. 216. 'THEY, that are now, are as commend-'able, as any other ſort of men are, for a 'ſober and grave, quiet and peaceable way 'of living. They profeſs obedience to Ma-

giſtrates:

'giſtrates: *And a little further*, They are 'particularly commended for maintaining 'their poor liberally; as alſo for paſſing 'cenſures upon ſuch members of their own 'congregations as live diſorderly. This cha-'racter of obedient ſubjects, is what they 'now own and profeſs, and what I hope is 'the real ſentiment of moſt of them".

AND I add, it was what they did always own and profeſs ever ſince they had a be-ing in this kingdom; and that neither Dr. *Wall*, nor any other, is able to prove the contrary. His ſilly ſtory about Mr. *Hicks*, I find in his latter edition, is recanted; there-fore ſhall ſay nothing about it.

BISHOP *Burnet*, ſpeaking of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, gives them this character: *Hiſtory of his own Time*, p. 702.

'THE *Anabaptiſts*, ſays he, were gene-'rally men of virtue, and of an univerſal 'charity".

AND I would here obſerve, That though in the title page of this book, and through-out the ſame, I uſe the term *Baptiſt*, except in quotations from authors; it is not, as Dr. *Wall* obſerves, to caſt a reproach on our adverſaries; but becauſe I think it the moſt proper term, by which we can be diſtinguiſh-ed from other Chriſtians.

INDEED he ſays: 'As they diſown the 'name of *Anabaptiſts*, or *Rebaptizers*, ſo 'I have no where given it to them. As on 'the contrary, I do not give them the name 'of *Baptiſts*, nor of the baptized people; 'for that is to caſt a reproach upon their ad-'verſaries, as concluding that they are not ſo. 'Every party, while the matter continues in 'diſpute, ought to give and take ſuch names *Dr.* Wall, *p.* 2, 99.

'as caſt no reproach on themſelves, nor their 'opponents, but ſuch as each of them own; 'and ſuch are the names that I uſe."

So that this worthy gentleman has taken upon himſelf to be our godfather, and given us the name of *Anti-Pædobaptiſts*: But, as we are not infants, we have an undoubted right to put in our exceptions.

BESIDES the length of the word, for I do not love hard names, it ſeems to me no proper name; becauſe the people called *Quakers*, from whom we differ in judgment, as well as from the *Pædobaptiſts*, may be included; and therefore I have rejected it. Neither ſhall I think that he has aſſumed to himſelf and party a proper name, till ſprinkling, pouring, or any other way of waſhing beſides dipping, is fairly proved to be baptiſm, either from ſcripture or antiquity.

BUT, to return to Mr. *Neal*. If he would have us to underſtand by his ill-natured phraſe, *narrow Spirit*, that he means, becauſe we will not receive unbaptized perſons to the communion of our churches, therefore we are a people of *narrow Spirits*; then the deſigned reproach, which he would fix on the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, fits all the chriſtian churches in all ages: For it is their declared opinion, That no perſons unbaptized ought to be received to the communion of the chriſtian church, and they practiſe accordingly.

To omit a cloud of witneſſes I might produce, who concur in their teſtimonies, that this *great ordinance of baptiſm*, is not only the ſacrament of *initiation*, but alſo to be continued in the church unto the end of the world,

I ſhall

I ſhall only add a few general and comprehending teſtimonies:

1. In the articles of religion, publiſhed by his Majeſty's ſpecial command, *Anno* 1642, we have the judgment of the *church* of *England*, viz.

'BAPTISM is not only a ſign of profeſſion, and mark of difference, whereby chriſtian men are diſcerned from others that be not chriſtned; but it is alſo a ſign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an inſtrument, they that receive baptiſm rightly are grafted into the church; the promiſes of the forgiveneſs of ſin, and of our adoption to be the ſons of God by the Holy Ghoſt, and viſibly ſigned and ſealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increaſed by virtue of prayer unto God, *&c.*"

2. THE judgment of the *Presbyterians*, ſuitable to which they expreſs themſelves in their larger and ſhorter catechiſms, we find in the confeſſion of faith put forth by the aſſembly of divines, *Anno* 1658.

'BAPTISM, ſay they, is a ſacrament of the *New Teſtament*, ordained by Jeſus Chriſt, not only for the ſolemn admiſſion of the party baptized into the viſible church, *but alſo to be unto him a ſign and ſeal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Chriſt, of regeneration, of remiſſion of ſins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to walk in newneſs of life*: Which ſacrament is by Chriſt's own appointment to continue in his church until the end of the world".

3. THE

3. THE judgment of the *Congregational* (commonly called *Independent*) churches, we have in their confeſſion of faith at the *Savoy*; where were many of their Elders in *October* 1658, printed *Anno* 1659.

"BAPTISM, ſay they, *is a ſacrament of* "*the New Teſtament, ordained by Jeſus* "*Chriſt, to be unto the party baptized, a* "*ſign and ſeal of the covenant of grace, of* "*his ingrafting into Chriſt, of regeneration,* "*of remiſſion of ſins, and of his giving up* "*unto God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to walk* "*in newneſs of life: Which ordinance is* "*by Chriſt's own appointment to be con-* "*tinued in his church until the end of the* "*world*".

4. THE *Engliſh Baptiſts* judgment you have in their confeſſion of faith, *Appendix* N° 2. Art. XXXIX. and N° 3. Art. XXIV.

IT is certainly commendable to keep the ordinances of Chriſt pure, as they were delivered; becauſe it prevents the creeping in of the inventions of men in the worſhip of God. Man is naturally apt to be medling that way, and mixing ſomething of his own with thoſe ſacred inſtitutions which God has with greateſt ſeverity prohibited; having not ſpared any, no not his own people, though what they have done ſeems not to be out of any wicked intentions, but rather out of an ignorant zeal: Of which there are many inſtances in ſcripture.

The Reverend Mr. *Neal* would do well to convince the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, That *ſprinkling* of *infants* is the *baptiſm* which Chriſt inſtituted,

ſtituted, and the Apoſtles practiſed. For we grant, that it is praiſe-worthy for the churches of Jeſus Chriſt to preſerve and keep the ordinances of Chriſt, as they have been delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles to them. And if, after a full and fair conviction from ſcripture, we remain ſtill obſtinate, a worſe name than that of *narrow Spirits* might be juſtly fixed on us.

I SHALL only reply to Mr. *Neal* in the words of the Reverend Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; who, though a *Pædobaptiſt*, very excellently expreſſes himſelf in his book, intituled, *Goſpel Worſhip, or the right Manner of ſanctifying the Name of God*, p. 8, 9, &c. His words are theſe:

'ALL things in God's worſhip muſt have 'a warrant out of God's word, muſt be 'commanded; it is not enough that it is not 'forbidden, and what hurt is there in it? 'but it muſt be commanded —— When 'we come to *matters of religion*, and the '*worſhip of God*, we muſt either have a '*command*, or ſome-what out of *God's word*, 'by ſome conſequence drawn from ſome '*command*, wherein God manifeſts his will; 'either a *direct command*, or by comparing 'one thing with another, or drawing conſe-'quences *plainly* from the words, we muſt 'have a *warrant* for the *worſhip* of God, &c. '—— When any creature is raiſed in a 'religious way above what it hath in it by 'nature, if I have not ſcripture to warrant 'me, I am therein *ſuperſtitious*. —— We 'muſt be all *willing worſhippers*, but not '*will worſhippers*. You ſee how ſevere God page 10. 'was to *Nadab* and *Abihu*, for but taking

'other

'other *fire*, than that which God appointed to offer up incense, though there was no direct commandment *against* it, &c.

page 11. 'In the matters of *worship* God stands 'upon *little* things; such things as seem to 'be very small and little to us, yet God 'stands much upon them in the matter of 'worship. For there is nothing wherein the 'prerogative of God doth more appear than 'in worship, as princes stand much upon 'their prerogatives —— There are things 'in the worship of God that are not written 'in our *hearts*, that only depend upon the 'will of God revealed in his word; which 'were no duties except they were revealed 'there. And these are of such a nature as 'we can see no reason for, but only this, *be-* 'cause God will have them —— Though men 'would think it a little matter, whether *this* 'fire or *that* fire, and will not *this* burn as 'well as *that?* but God stands upon it —— 'When *Uzzah* did but touch the ark, when 'it was ready to fall, we would think it no 'great matter; but one touch of the ark 'cost him his life. There is not a *Minim* in 'the *worship* of *God*, but *God* stands mightily upon it —— For a man to gather a 'few sticks on the sabbath, what great matter was it? but God stands upon it. So 'when the men of *Bethshemesh* did but look 'into the ark, it cost the lives of fifty thou- 'sand and seventy men, &c.

page 12. *H. E. further adds*, 'That there is no 'privileges or dignities of man that can 'secure them from God's stroke; instancing 'Nadab and *Abihu*'s case, *Moses* the man of 'God being their uncle, and *Aaron* their fa-

'ther,

ther, men newly consecrated to the priests office, renowned men that God put much glory upon; yet, if they will venture but to offend God in this little thing, his wrath breaks out upon them, and kills them presently, &c."

He adds much more to the same effect, and offers several reasons by which he judgeth that *Nadab* and *Abihu* were good men; and gives a plain demonstration that they had no wicked design: As,

1. They were young men, newly come to their office, and might not understand all things, as if they had had longer experience.

2. It's observable, for *ver.* 1. 'tis called *strange fire which he commanded not*, that if there be not a command for our practice, nor such a president as the scripture approves of, no human *pretence* can excuse the transgressor from the judgment of God.

Will Mr. *Neal* admit *Roman Catholicks*, who profane the ordinance of the supper, to the communion of his church? We believe in our consciences that sprinkling children is a profanation of the ordinance of baptism, and so consequently reject it; therefore our spirits will appear no narrower than his own. And if, upon a serious review of this passage last quoted, he will endeavour to be careful of his temper, I may hope in the next edition to see it appear in better language.

With respect to their sufferings Mr. *Neal* very justly observes, that ministers have a right by preaching to oppose doctrines *; but

* *Such as they believe to be erroneous, I would suppose he means.*

un-

unjuſtifiable at the ſame time to fight them with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate, and ſhut them up in priſon: And then mentions five or ſix, with little more than their names, of whom he had a large account, reſpecting their ſufferings, before him. But they were *Baptiſts*, and ſo not worthy of his notice, unleſs he can add ſomething to degrade them.

page 163. The firſt he mentions is Mr. *Henry Denne*; of whom he only ſays, he was formerly ordained by the biſhop of St. *Davids*, and poſſeſſed of the living of *Pyeton* in *Hertfordſhire*. Then he mentions Mr. *Coppe*; and ſays, he was miniſter in *Warwickſhire*, and ſome time preacher to the garriſon in *Compton Houſe*.

The next he mentions is Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*; who was, ſays he, 'Several times 'before the committee for preaching *Antino-* '*mianiſm*, and *Anti-Pædobaptiſm*; and be- 'ing forbid to preach in the publick churches, 'he opened a ſeparate meeting in great 'St. *Hellens*; from whence he was quickly 'diſlodged, and his followers diſperſed".

If *Antinomianiſm* be ſuch a brand of infamy, as to put a vail upon the character of ſo good and pious a man as Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*; how came it to paſs that Dr. *Criſp* had more than a whole page beſtowed on him in encomiums to his praiſe, which I doubt not but he juſtly deſerved? If I may be permitted to anſwer without offence, and incurring the cenſure of an angry writer; it ſhould be, becauſe he was an *Independent Pædobaptiſt*.

In

In the next place he says, 'Mr. *Andrew Wyke*, in the county of *Suffolk*, was impri-
'soned on the same account; and Mr. *Oates*
'in *Essex* tried for his life at *Chelmsford* as-
'sizes for the murder of *Ann Martin*, be-
'cause she died a few days after her immer-
'sion of a cold that seized her at that time".

This is so unrighteous a piece of partiality, that no sentence too severe can be passed upon it; because he had before him a full account of that affair; and thereby knew how honourably he was acquitted, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing endeavours of his *Paedobaptist* Brethren to bring him in guilty, thereby to fix an odium on the practice of immersion.

I was at a stand why this gentleman's christian name, *Samuel*, was left out in Mr. *Neal*'s narration; seeing Mr. *Neal* had it before him. And I can assign no other reason for it, unless it were to impose on his readers, that they might take him to be *Titus Oates*, so noted in our histories with a brand of infamy upon him. But I must leave that to his own conscience; and refer my readers to page 236 of this history, where they will find, among others, the same account of these persons mentioned by Mr. *Neal* as communicated to him, and leave them to judge of his partiality in this matter.

To bring up the rear of the *Baptists* sufferings; poor *Laurence Clarkson*, with his recantation at large, is exhibited.

Among the thousands of *Baptists* in *England* here is one produced; who, through the severity of the times, and being but an unsteady

steady man in his principles, and one that had not been used to suffer for conscience sake, was tempted to make this recantation, finding he could no other way obtain his liberty.

He had been six months in prison, committed by the *Pædobaptist* committee of *Suffolk*, for that so heinous a crime of baptizing by immersion; a crime so great, that all the intercession of his friends, though he had several, could not procure his release; the committee being fully resolved not to let such crimes go unpunished: Nay, though an order came down, either from a committee of parliament, or chairman of it, to discharge him, yet they refused to obey it.

Mr. *Edwards*, who first published this account, did it to expose the sectaries, against whom he had an implacable hatred. But, whether the weakness of this man under his oppression, or the folly and wickedness of his persecutors, were hereby more exposed, let the reader judge.

However, the *Pædobaptists* gain'd no great honour by a proselyte made after this manner: For upon his release he turned *seeker*; and when the *Baptists* expelled him from their society, as a man that had denied the truth to escape suffering, he writ a small Pamphlet*, wherein he endeavours to excuse himself, by saying, That he did not assert the baptism of believers by immersion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneously practised, there being now no true churches, nor true

* *The Pilgrimage of Saints by Church cast out; in Christ found seeking truth.*

admin-

administrators of that ordinance. And it is no wonder, that a person who could make such a vile submission to his worshipful persecutors, should afterwards make such equivocations, to extenuate his crime.

Bishop *Jewel* signed the popish articles; and archbishop *Cranmer* subscribed a recantation. Here are for Mr. *Neal* two eminent *Pædobaptist* Recanters, for one poor Baptist: And if he has any more such instances, I will endeavour to supply him at the same rate. Fuller, *Cent.* 16. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 9, 23.

This partiality of Mr. *Neal* revived my resolution to compleat this Treatise, in the best manner I could, for a publication; and what is wanting in it of elegancy of phrase, hath been endeavoured to be supplied in the truth of the relation, which is the only commendation of history, and much preferable to that artificial stuff, which may find better access to some ears.

And therefore to the *English reader* I would now address my self, because in this land were these actions done; and their fore-fathers, with bleeding hearts and distilling eyes, were spectators of, and common sufferers under, the insulting paces of tyrannical, arbitrary power, and unlimited prerogative, and had a cup of blood prepared for them; though, blessed be God, it is otherwise with us.

This Essay being the first of the kind, that has been published in this kingdom, it is to be hoped some abler hand in time may improve the same, and a more full account be given of the *English Baptists*.

The design of the reverend Mr. *Benjamin Stinton*'s History being to give an account of

the *English Baptists* only, he thought it might not be improper, and did intend to introduce it with some account of the origin of their opinion, and who have been reported to be the authors of it. And since there are various accounts given of this matter, says he, I shall briefly relate the different opinions about it, as well those held by the *Paedobaptists*, as those of the *Anti-Paedobaptists*, concerning their own original, and then leave the reader to judge which has the greatest appearance of truth.

THEY are generally condemned as a new *sect*, whose opinion and practice, with relation to baptism, was not known in the Christian church till about two hundred years ago. Bishop *Burnet* says, 'At this time [*anno* 1549] 'there were many *Anabaptists* in several parts 'of *England*. They were generally *Ger-* 'mans, whom the revolutions there had forced 'to change their seats. Upon *Luther*'s first 'preaching in *Germany*, there arose many, 'who building on some of his principles, car- 'ried things much further than he did. The 'chief foundation he laid down was, that the 'scripture was to be the only rule of Chris- 'tians. Upon this many argued, that the 'mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's in- 'carnation and suffering, of the fall of man, 'and the aids of grace, were indeed philo- 'sophical subtilties, and only pretended to be 'deduced from scripture, as almost all opi- 'nions of religion were, and therefore they 'rejected them. Among these the baptism 'of infants was one. They held that to be 'no baptism, and so were re-baptized. But 'from this, which was most taken notice of,

Hist. Ref. Part II. p. 110.

'as

'as being a visible thing, they carried all the 'general name of *Anabaptists*.'

Mr. *Marshal* says, 'That the first that 'ever made a head against it [infant-bap-'tism] or a division in the church about it, 'was *Baltazar Pacommitanus* in *Germany*, 'in *Luther*'s time, about the year 1527.' This *Baltazar* is stiled *Baltazar Huebmar Pacimontanus*, Dr. in *Waldshut*, a town near the *Helvetians*. He was a man of great note for learning, and did by his preaching and writing very much promote his opinion. He was burnt at *Viana*, in 1528. for which he is esteemed a martyr by his followers.

Sermon on Infant-baptism, p. 5.

Zuinglius, *in the epistle before his answer to his book on Baptism.*

But, says Mr. *Tombs*, *Bellarmine* and *Cochleus* say, that *Erasmus* himself had sowed some seeds of it also. And whoever reads his works, will find several things in them favouring the opinion of the *Anti-Pædobaptists*: As when he saith, in his union of the church, 'It is no where expressed, in the 'apostolical writings, that they baptized 'children;' and again, upon *Rom.* vi. 'Bap-'tizing of children was not in use in St. *Paul*'s 'time, and that they are not to be con-'demned, who doubt whether childrens bap-'tism was ordained by the Apostles.'

Examen. p. 22.

De ratio Conc.

JOHN GERHARD, a *Lutheran* minister, derives the original of this sect from *Carolostadius*, who was conversant with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and the other reformers, and assisted them in that blessed work. He says, that he is called the father of the *Anabaptists*, by *Erasmus Alberus*.

Tom. 40. *of his Common Places.*

SLEIDAN, who writ the history of the *Anabaptists*, does not go so far, but asserts of him, 'that he praised their opinion.'

OSIANDER affirms, 'that he joined 'himself to them.'

MELANCTHON, who was well acquainted, both with the man and his opinions, says of him, 'that he endeavoured to pro- 'mote the gospel, tho' in a wrong course.'

Com. 1 epist. Cor. ix. 24. Page 6.

THE short history of the *Anabaptists*, published in 1647, says; 'It is hard to say, whe- 'ther *Carolostadius*, or one *Nicholas Stork*, 'was the first founder of baptism.'

Hist. Anab. Lib. ii. Sect. ii. Tombe's Examen. p. 22.

ARNOLDUS MESHOVIUS, another historian of those times, lays it still nearer the door of the first reformers; and says, 'That 'the business of *Anabaptism* began at *Witten- 'burg*, anno Christi 1522. *Luther* then lurk- 'ing in the castle of *Wartpurg* in *Thuringia*, 'by *Nicholas Pelargus*; and that he had com- 'panions at first, *Carolostadius*, *Philip Me- 'lanctbon*, and others; and that *Luther* re- 'turning from his *Patmos*, as he called it, 'banished *Carolostadius*, and the rest, and 'only received *Philip Melanctbon* into favour 'again.'

THESE passages make it probable that this question about Infant-baptism was agitated among the reformers themselves, and that some of them were at first for rejecting that practice.

De Rit. Bap. Lib. ii. c. 1. Wall, Part II. p. 179.

VICECOMES, a learned *Papist*, has left upon record, that *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, were adversaries of infant-baptism: Though the *Pædobaptists* look upon this only as a slander cast upon them.

'TIS certain that *Zuinglius*, that holy and learned reformer, who flourished about the year 1520, was for some time against it, as he ingenuously confesses, in these words: 'When

'When this opinion was every where ſo rashly and without conſideration received, That all men believed that faith was confirmed by ſigns, we muſt neceſſarily expect this ſad iſſue, that ſome would even deny baptiſm to infants; for how ſhould it confirm the faith of infants, when it is manifeſt that they as yet have no faith? Wherefore I my ſelf, that I may ingenuouſly confeſs the truth, ſome years ago, being deceived with this error, thought it better that childrens baptiſm ſhould be delayed, till they came to full age: Though (adds he) I never broke forth into that immodeſty and importunity, as ſome now do.' *De Bap. Tom. II. p. 63.* *Baxter's Scripture Proofs, p. 291.*

IF ſome of the other reformers were at firſt of this opinion, as his Words imply, yet they might think it impracticable to carry their reformation ſo far at once, and that it might overthrow what they had already ſo happily done: And when ſome of this opinion afterwards had brought a ſcandal upon the *Proteſtants*, and occaſioned ſuch confuſions all over *Germany*, they might be tempted to renounce this opinion, and write with ſo much zeal and anger, as they did againſt thoſe who maintained it.

'TIS ſtill more evident, that theſe firſt reformers look'd upon ſprinkling as a corruption of baptiſm, and endeavoured to introduce the primitive rite of dipping, as is practiſed by the *Engliſh Baptiſts*.

LUTHER has, in ſeveral places, fully declared his opinion in this matter:

'BAPTISM, ſaith he, is a *Greek* word; 'it may be termed a dipping, when we dip 'ſomething in water, that it may be wholly co-

Duveil on *Acts* viii. 38.

'covered with water? And although that 'custom be now altogether abolished among 'the most part, for neither do they dip the 'whole children, but only sprinkle them with 'a little water, they ought altogether never-'theless to be dipt, and presently to be drawn 'out again; for the etymology of the word 'seems to require that.'

In another place he says; 'Washing from 'sins is attributed to baptism; it is truly in-'deed attributed, but the signification is softer 'and lower than that it can express baptism, 'which is rather a sign both of death and re-'surrection. Being moved by this reason, 'I would have those that are to be baptized, 'to be altogether dipt into the water, as the 'word doth sound, and the mystery doth 'signify.'

And that this was the opinion and practice of the chief leaders in the reformation, appears by something remarkable, that happen'd in those times concerning this matter.

JOHANNES BUGENHAGIUS POMERANIUS, who was a companion of *Luther*, and succeeded him in the ministry at *Wittenburg*, a very pious and learned divine, tells us, in a book he published in the *German* tongue, *Anno* 1542,

'That he was desired to be a witness of 'a baptism at *Hamburgh*, in the year 1529. 'That when he had seen the minister only 'sprinkled the infant wrapped in swathling-'clothes on the top of the head, he was 'amazed; because he neither heard nor saw 'any such thing*, nor yet read in any history,

* *Among the Protestants I suppose he meant.*

'except

'except in case of necessity, in bed-rid persons. In a general assembly therefore of all 'the ministers of the word, that was convened, 'he did ask of a certain minister, *John Fritz* 'by name, who was some time minister of '*Lubec*, how the sacrament of baptism was 'administred at *Lubec*? Who for his piety 'and candour did answer gravely, that infants 'were baptized naked at *Lubec*, after the 'same fashion altogether as in *Germany*. 'But from whence and how that peculiar 'manner of baptizing hath crept into *Ham-burgh*, he was ignorant. At length they 'did agree among themselves, that the judg-'ment of *Luther*, and of the divines of *Wit-temburg*, should be demanded about this 'point. Which being done, *Luther* did write 'back to *Hamburgh*, that this sprinkling was 'an abuse, which they ought to remove. 'Thus plunging was restored at *Hamburgh*.'

But notwithstanding this, Dr. *Featly* and many others will have it, that *Anabaptism* took its first rise at *Munster*; and that *Nicholas Stork*, *Thomas Muncer*, *John* of *Leyden*, *Mark Stubner*, *Knipperdoling*, *Phiffer*, and such like, were the first teachers of this doctrine, and founders of the sect.

These men denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of Christ, the authority of magistrates, the lawfulness of taking oaths, and almost all the Christian doctrines; and were guilty of several gross enormities, such as poligamy, rebellion, theft and murder: They seized the city of *Munster*, proclaimed *John* of *Leyden* their king, committed abundance of violence, and caused tumults and rebellions in several places.

THE extravagant doctrines, and seditious practices of these men, are every where charged upon the opposers of infant-baptism, to render them odious, and a dangerous and seditious sect, not fit to be tolerated in any nation, whose principles have so bad a tendency, and whose beginning was so scandalous.

IN return to all which, the *Baptists* alledge in their own defence, that the *Papists* improve this story after the like manner, against the new begun reformation it self, and represent it as the consequence of letting men have the scriptures to read, and the liberty of judging for themselves in matters of religion.

THAT there is great reason to suspect the truth of many things reported of this People, is evident: For in a time of war, and popular tumults, it is not easy to come at a certain knowledge of what is transacted, and if a design miscarries, it is generally censured, how just or good soever it was. The *Roman Catholicks* charge the *Vaudois*, and *Albigeois*, and sometimes the *Lutherans*, with crimes almost as black as they do these *Anabaptists*: And as for the Protestants of those times, they persecuted this sect with so much cruelty, and wrote against them with so much bitterness, that it discredits very much what they say of them, at least makes it probable they took up some reports concerning them upon very slender evidence.

Bayle's Dictionary, Anabaptists.

NEITHER do the histories of those times agree in the accounts they give of them; for some charge them with more crimes, and much greater, than others do; some accuse them with those things which are directly contrary to what is affirmed of them by others; and

and some with things so incredible, that their adversaries themselves look upon them to be but slanders.

THEY say also, that there is no just reason to lay those wars and tumults in *Germany* at the door of the *Anabaptists*; for it is plain, in the histories of those times, that *Papists*, as well as *Protestants*, and of these the *Pædobaptists* as well as *Anabaptists*, were concerned in them. *Bishop* Jewel's *Defence*, P. I. c. 4.

AND the chief occasion of their rising, was the defence of their civil liberties. When they drew up a manifesto of their demands, in twelve heads, and presented it to the magistrates, who had promised to hear their complaints, and do them justice, there is but one article, that directly regards religion; which was, that they might have liberty to chuse the ministers of their churches, and depose them afterwards, if they saw occasion. *Dupin's Ecc. Hist.* Cent. 16. Lib. i. p. 79.

THE confusions at *Munster*, where the blackest part of this tragedy was acted, were begun by a *Pædobaptist* minister of the *Lutheran* persuasion, one *Bernard Rotman*, preacher at the church of St. *Maurice* in that city; and were carried on by him, with several other *Lutherans*, for some time, before any *Anabaptist* appeared to have a hand in it. *Spanheim's Hist. Anab.* p. 12. *Hook's Apol.* p. 11. *Sleidan.*

AND though *Muncer* and *Phiffer* are said to have denied infant-baptism, and to have instilled the same opinion into others, yet they had not received or professed this principle till some time after these insurrections were begun in several parts of *Germany*. If these men were as vile as they are represented to be, and guilty of all those crimes of which they are accused, this could not have proceeded from their opinion about baptism, which

which can have no such tendency: Nor is there any colour of justice, in charging those crimes upon other Christians of that denomination, who abhor their erroneous tenets, and behave themselves after the most inoffensive manner. If all the errors which have been maintained, and all the thefts, murders, adulteries, and rebellions, which have been committed by *Pædobaptists*, were to be made the consequence of that opinion, it would soon appear a very bloody and dangerous tenet indeed, and render those who held it much more odious than *Anabaptists*.

BUT that which is more material to our enquiry after the first rise of this sect is, That these men did not advance this tenet concerning baptism, as a thing entirely new, but what was taught by others, who rejected the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*, as well as themselves; and affirmed it to have been the opinion of the *Waldenses* and *Petrobrasians*, who had gone before them.

THEY did not set up themselves upon this account as the heads and founders of a new sect, or religion, as enthusiastical persons are too ready to do, if there be but the least room for it.

Vol. I. Cent. 16. Lib. v. p. 45. *DUPIN*, a person well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, calls this the revival of the error.

THERE were before, and about this time, many people of their opinion concerning baptism, who had made a declaration of much better principles, and under better leaders.

Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 110. BISHOP *Burnet* says, 'There were two 'sorts of these [*Anabaptists*] most remark-'able: The one was of those who only

'thought

'thought that baptism ought not to be given 'but to those who were of an age capable of 'instruction, and who did earnestly desire 'it ——— These were called the gentle, or 'moderate *Anabaptists*. But others, who car-'ried that name, denied almost all the prin-'ciples of the Christian doctrine, and were 'men of fierce and barbarous tempers ——— 'These being joined in the common name 'of *Anabaptists*, with the other, brought 'them also under an ill character.'

MONSIEUR *Bayle*, speaking of the many martyrs that the *Anabaptists* boast of, and their martyrology, being a large book in *Folio*, says:

'COULD it only produce those that were put to death for attempts against the govern-'ment, its bulky martyrology would make 'but a ridiculous figure. But it is certain, 'that several *Anabaptists*, who suffered death 'courageously for their opinions, had never 'any intention of rebelling. Give me leave 'to cite an evidence, which cannot be 'suspected; it is that of a writer, who has 'exerted his whole force in refuting this sect. 'He observes, that its great progress was 'owing to three things: The first was, That 'its teachers deafned their hearers with num-'berless passages of scripture: The second, 'That they affected a great appearance of 'sanctity: The third, That their followers 'discovered great constancy in their suffer-'ings and deaths. But he gives not the least 'hint, that the *Anabaptist* martyrs suffered 'death for taking up arms against the state, 'or stirring up the people to rebellion.'

Dictionary, Anabaptists, *Letter* F, 2d. Edit.

Guy de Bres.

MON-

MONSEIUR *Bayle* being a *Papiſt*, and the author he cites a *Proteſtant*, made this remark upon it:

'OBSERVE by the way, ſays he, that this 'author refutes his adverſaries, juſt as the 'Catholicks refute the *Proteſtants*: And then 'ſhews how the arguments uſed againſt the 'one, are of equal force againſt the other.'

GEORGE CASSANDER, who lived in thoſe times, had diſputed with the *Anabaptiſts*, and viſited ſome of their miniſters in priſon, does in his epiſtle to the duke of *Gulick* and *Cleve*, give a very good character of them who dwelt in *Belgick* and lower *Germany*, even when ſome others were guilty of ſuch extravagancies at *Munſter* and *Battenburgh*. He ſays,

'That they diſcovered an honeſt and a 'pious mind; and that they erred from the 'faith, through a miſtaken zeal, rather than 'an evil diſpoſition; that they condemned 'the outragious behaviour of their brethren of '*Munſter*; that they taught that the king-'dom of Jeſus Chriſt was to be eſtabliſhed 'only by the croſs. They deſerve therefore, 'adds he, to be pitied and inſtructed, rather 'than to be perſecuted.'

Hornbeek's Sum. Con. p. 364.

THE learned *Beza* alſo gives a very honourable account of many of them in his epiſtle to the *Gallo-Belgic* churches at *Embden*, and ſays:

'Many of the *Anabaptiſts* are good men, 'ſervants of God, and our moſt dear bre-'thren.'

THESE authors had more juſtice than to condemn the innocent with the guilty, and to aſperſe

aſperſe the whole for the errors and diſorders of a ſmall part.

THE great number of *Anabaptiſts* that were about this time in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, and other countries, make it improbable, that theſe frantick men at *Munſter* ſhould be the founders of this ſect, or ſo much as the firſt that revived the queſtion, about childrens baptiſm in thoſe times.

THOSE ſtirs at *Munſter* did not begin till the year 1532. nor did they come to any great height, or any *Anabaptiſts* appear in that city till the year 1533. And yet we find great oppoſition made againſt *Anabaptiſts* before this in ſeveral parts, both by diſputations and writings, and ſome ſevere laws made againſt their opinion. Spanhemius, p. 13.

THEY were oppoſed at *Augsburg* about the year 1516. by *Regius*: In *Saxony* by *Luther*, 1522. In *Thuringia* by *Micerius*, 1525. In *Switzerland*, at *Zurick*, there were three publick diſputations held between *Zuinglius* and the heads of the *Anabaptiſts*, in *Jan. March*, and *Nov.* 1525. *Oecolampadius* alſo diſputed with theſe Hereticks, as he calls them, the ſame year at *Bazil*; and again in the Years 1527, and 1529.

THIS opinion prevailed ſo faſt, that to prevent the growth of it, the magiſtrates of *Zurick* publiſhed a ſolemn edict againſt it in 1525. requiring all perſons to have their children baptized, and forbidding rebaptization, under the penalty of being fined, baniſhed, or impriſoned. Another was put forth in 1530. making it puniſhable with death.

IN

Hooke's *Apology*, p. 29.

'In the year 1528. *Hans Shaeffer*, and *Leonard Freek*, for oppoſing infants baptiſm, were beheaded at *Schwas* in *Germany*; and *Leopald Snyder* at *Augsburg* for the ſame.

'At *Saltzburg* eighteen perſons of the ſame faith were burnt; and twenty five at *Waltſen* the ſame year.

'ANNO 1529. twenty of them were put to death in the *Palatinate*; and three hundred and fifty at *Alize* in *Germany*. The men for the moſt part beheaded, and the women drowned.

'ANNO 1533. *Hugh Crane*, and *Margaret* his wife, with two more, were martyred at *Harlem*; the woman was drowned; the three men were chained to a poſt, and roaſted by a fire, at a diſtance, till they died. This was the very ſame year that the riſing was at *Munſter*.

Ib. p. 30.

'LIKEWISE in the Proteſtant *Cantons* in *Switzerland*, they were uſed as hardly, about the ſame time.

'ANNO 1526. one *Felix Mentz*, a *Baptiſt* miniſter, was drowned at *Zurich*.

'ANNO 1530. two of the baptized brethren were burnt.

'ANNO 1531. ſix more of the congregation of *Baptiſts* were martyr'd in the ſame place.

'ANNO 1533. two perſons, *Ludwick Teſt*, and *Catherine Harugen*, were burnt at *Munſter*.'

THERE is part of a letter, preſerved in an author not to be ſuſpected, that was written to *Eraſmus*, out of *Bohemia*, dated *October* 10, 1519. in which an account is given of

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a ſect then in being, and which had been in that country for above ninety years, who by the character given of them, appear to be *Anabaptiſts*; and were not only long before *Stork* and *Muncer*, but alſo before *Luther* and *Calvin*, who ſet themſelves to oppoſe the church of *Rome*. The letter deſcribes them thus: Colomeſius's *Collection*, ep. 30.

'These men have no other opinion of the Pope, cardinals, biſhops, and other clergy, than as of manifeſt antichriſts. They call the Pope ſometimes the beaſt, and ſometimes the whore, mentioned in the *Revelations*. Their own biſhops and prieſts they themſelves do chuſe for themſelves; ignorant and unlearned laymen, that have wife and children. They mutually ſalute one another by the name of brother and ſiſter. They own no other authority than the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament: They ſlight all the Doctors, both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine. Their prieſts, when they celebrate the offices of the maſs [or communion] do it without any prieſtly garments; nor do they uſe any prayer or collects on this occaſion, but only the Lord's prayer, by which they conſecrate bread that has been leavened. They believe or own little or nothing of the ſacraments of the church: Such as come over to their ſect, muſt every one be baptized anew, in mere water. They make no bleſſing of ſalt, nor of water; nor make any uſe of conſecrated oil. They believe nothing of divinity in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, only that the conſecrated bread and wine, do by ſome occult ſigns repreſent the death of Chriſt; Wall's *Hiſt. Bapt.* Part II. P. 200.

'and accordingly, that all that do kneel down 'to it, or worſhip it, are guilty of idolatry. 'That that ſacrament was inſtituted by Chriſt 'to no other purpoſe but to renew the me- 'mory of his paſſion, and not to be carried 'about, or held up by the prieſt to be gazed 'on. For that Chriſt himſelf, who is to be 'adored and worſhipped with the honour of '*Latreia*, ſits at the right hand of God, as 'the Chriſtian church confeſſes in the creed. 'Prayers to ſaints, and for the dead, they 'count a vain and ridiculous thing; as like- 'wiſe auricular confeſſion and penance, en- 'joined by the prieſt for ſins. Eves and 'faſt-days are, they ſay, a mockery, and 'the diſguiſe of hypocrites. They ſay, the 'holy days of the virgin *Mary*, and the 'Apoſtles, and other ſaints, are the inven- 'tion of idle people; but yet they keep the '*Lord's-day*, and *Chriſtmas*, and *Eaſter*, and '*Whitſontide*, &c.'

THIS deſcription does almoſt in every thing fit the modern *Anabaptiſts*, eſpecially thoſe in *England*. Their ſaluting one another by the name of brother and ſiſter; their chuſing their own miniſters, and from among the laity; their rejecting all prieſtly garments, and refuſing to kneel at the ſacrament; their ſlighting all authorities but that of the ſcriptures, but eſpecially their baptizing again all that embraced their way, does certainly give the *Baptiſts* a better right than any other Proteſtants, to claim theſe people for their predeceſſors.

'TIS true, ſome zealous *Pædobaptiſts*, who would willingly have none thought ſober and religious, who deny baptiſm to children, have

have insinuated that these *Pygbards*, and followers of *Hus* in *Bohemia*, did not baptize such as came over to them, from any dislike of infant-baptism, but of those ceremonies which the church of *Rome* used in it. And *Ottius* does positively affirm this to be the reason of it.

But there is no proof from any authentic histories that those early Protestants, who retained infant-baptism, did any of them, upon their departing from Popery, reject their baptism in that church, and receive a new baptism.

WALDEN, who lived in those times, and writ against the *Hussites* in *Bohemia* above an hundred years before *Ottius*, affirms, 'That some of them maintained this heresy, 'That believers children were not to be baptized; and that baptism was to no purpose 'administred to them.' Tom. III. Tit. v. c. 53. Marshall *against* Tombs, *page* 65.

We must therefore look for a more early beginning of this sect and opinion than the insurrection at *Munster*, or the reformation in *Germany*. And we find there are some of the *Pædobaptists*, and those of no small repute, who affirm, that the *Albigenses* were the first who dared positively to declare against infant-baptism, and call the preaching of this opinion, by *Muncer*, *Stork*, &c. only a reviving of that error. Cassander Dupin. *Cent.* 16. *Lib.* v. *page* 45.

Of this sect there was a great number, in divers parts of *France* and *Bohemia*, above three hundred years before *Luther*'s and *Calvin*'s reformation. They went under different names, either from the places that were fullest of them, or the persons who were their principal leaders: But the name of *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* were the titles most commonly Fox, *Vol.* I. *p* 299.

given to them; the one from *Albi*, a place ſo called in *Languedoc*, in which were great numbers of them; the other from one *Waldus*, the ſuppoſed founder of that ſect, who was a rich and learned citizen of *Lyons*, and began there to oppoſe the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1160.

THE *Papiſts* impute a great many heinous crimes to theſe people; a method which they generally take with all who have diſſented from their church. And yet *Reinerus*, a zealous oppoſer of them, gives a very honourable account of this ſect.

Danvers, *page* 344.

'THEY are, ſays he, in their manner 'compos'd, and modeſt; no pride in ap-'parel, becauſe they are therein neither coſtly 'nor ſordid. They tranſact their affairs 'without lying, fraud, and ſwearing, being 'moſt upon handicraft trades: Yea, their 'doctors or teachers are *weavers* and *ſhoe-'makers*, who do not multiply riches, but 'content themſelves with neceſſary things. 'Theſe *Lyoniſts* are very chaſte and tem-'perate, both in meats and drinks; who 'neither haunt taverns, or ſtews: They do 'much curb their paſſions; they are always 'either working, teaching, or learning, *&c.* 'very frequent in their aſſemblies and wor-'ſhips, *&c.* They are very modeſt and 'preciſe in their words, avoiding ſcurrility, 'detraction, levity, and falſehood.'

THOSE who write againſt the *Baptiſts*, charge them with abundance of hereſies, and monſtrous doctrines; ſo that it is not eaſy with certainty to come at their opinions.

AS to the matter of Baptiſm, ſome repreſent thoſe they write againſt, as denying all baptiſm.

baptiſm. Others ſpeak of ſome that allowed baptiſm to the adult, but denied it to infants. Others again accuſe them of no error at all about baptiſm. But there is an expedient found out to reconcile this hiſtorical difference, which both parties agree to, and ſeems to be the truth, *viz.* That there were ſeveral ſects, who went under this general name of *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes*, like as there are of *Diſſenters* in *England*. That ſome of theſe did deny all baptiſm, and others only the baptiſm of infants. That many of them were of this latter opinion, is affirmed in ſeveral hiſtories of this people, as well ancient as modern. I will for brevity-ſake only mention one, whoſe authority is the rather to be taken, becauſe he was not only a *Pædobaptiſt*, but alſo ſet himſelf with great care to find out the truth of this matter. 'Tis that of *Chaſſanian*, who in his hiſtory of the *Albigeois* ſays:

'SOME writers have affirmed that the *Albigeois* approved not of the baptiſm of infants: Others, that they entirely ſlighted this holy ſacrament, as if it was of no uſe, either to great or ſmall. The ſame has been ſaid of the *Vaudois*; though ſome affirm, that they have always baptized their children. This difference of authors kept me for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, before I could come to be reſolved on which ſide the truth lay. At laſt conſidering what St. *Bernard* ſays of this matter, in his 66th Homily on the ſecond chapter of the *Song of Songs*, and the reaſons he brings to refute this error, and alſo what he wrote *ad Hildefonſum comitem Sancti Ægidii*, I cannot deny that the *Albigeois*, for the greateſt

Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 81.

'part, were of that opinion. And that 'which confirms me yet more in the belief 'of it, is, that in the hiſtory of the city of *Treves*, which I have mentioned before, at 'the end of the fourth chapter, 'tis ſaid, that 'at *Ivoi*, in the dioceſe of *Treves*, there were 'ſome who denied that the ſacrament of bap-'tiſm was available to the ſalvation of in-'fants: And one *Catherine Saube*, who was 'burnt at *Montpelier*, in the year 1417. for 'being of the mind of the *Albigeois*, in not 'believing the traditions of the *Romiſh* church, 'had the ſame thoughts concerning infant-'baptiſm, as 'tis recorded in the regiſter of 'the town-houſe of the ſaid city of *Mont-'pelier*; of which we ſhall ſpeak at the end 'of the fourth book. The truth is, they did 'not reject this ſacrament, or ſay it was uſe-'leſs; but only counted it unneceſſary to in-'fants, becauſe they are not of age to believe, 'or capable of giving evidence of their faith. 'That which induced them, as I ſuppoſe, 'to entertain this opinion, is what our Lord 'ſays: *He that believeth, and is baptized, 'ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not, 'ſhall be damned.*'

CASSANDER, who has examined the queſtion about infant-baptiſm with much care, and is ſaid to have writ with more impartiality concerning the *Anabaptiſts* than any other au-thor, makes *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, who lived four hundred years before all this, to be the firſt that taught this opinion, and practiſed according to it. For, ſpeaking of theſe pre-tended hereticks, he affirms of them; 'That 'they firſt openly condemned infant-baptiſm, 'and ſtiffly aſſerted that baptiſm was fit only

Caſſander's *Infant-bapt. Pref.*

'for the adult; which they both verbally 'taught, and really practiſed in their admi- 'niſtration of baptiſm.'

AND after him, Dr. *Wall* ſays: 'I take 'this *Peter Bruis*, and *Henry*, to be the firſt 'Antipædobaptiſt preachers that ever ſet up 'a church, or ſociety of men holding that 'opinion againſt infant-baptiſm, and re-bap- 'tizing ſuch as had been baptized in infancy;' and calls them, in the contents, the two firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* preachers in the world. *Hiſtory of Infant-baptiſm*, Book II. p. 184.

BUT leſt theſe early reformers ſhould bring any reputation to the *Anabaptiſts*, he relates ſeveral infamous ſtories and malicious ſlanders caſt upon them by the *Papiſts*, without any endeavours to clear them: A method that he would hardly have taken with the firſt leaders of the reformation, either in *England* or *Germany*.

THESE were both *Frenchmen*, and began to propagate their doctrines, and found the ſect, who after their names were called *Petrobruſians* and *Henricians*, in *Dauphine*, about the year 1126.

THEY had both of them been in prieſts orders, and had each of them a place or employment in that office: The former having been a miniſter of a pariſh-church, but was turned out: The latter a monk, but had deſerted the monaſtery, upon the change of his principles; for which reaſon they were called apoſtates, as well as hereticks.

PETER began firſt; and after he had for ſome time publiſhed his opinions, and drawn many followers after him, *Henry* became his diſciple, and afterwards his ſucceſſor.

THE errors they are ſaid to defend, are digeſted into ſix articles.

1. THAT infants are not to be baptized.
2. THAT temples or altars ought not to be built; and, if built, to be pulled down again.
3. THAT croſſes are not to be worſhipped, but rather broken, or trodden under foot.
4. THAT the maſs is nothing, and ought not to be celebrated.
5. THAT dead men receive no benefit from the prayers, ſacrifices, *&c.* of the living.
6. THAT it is a mocking of God, to ſing prayers in the church.

THEIR opinion concerning Baptiſm, is all that needs here to be enquired into.

PETER, abbot of *Clugny*, writ an epiſtle to three biſhops of *France*, againſt theſe hereticks and their followers, in the year 1146. the time when they chiefly prevailed. He accuſes them of all theſe tenets, and makes their denying of infant-baptiſm the firſt, and expreſſes it thus.

The firſt Propoſition of the new Hereticks.

Wall's *Hiſtory of Infant-baptiſm*, Part II. p. 173.

'THEY ſay, Chriſt ſending his diſciples 'to preach, ſays in the goſpel, *Go ye out into 'all the world, and preach the goſpel to every 'creature; He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth 'not, ſhall be damned.* From theſe words 'of our Saviour it is plain that none can be 'ſaved, unleſs he believe, and be baptized; 'that is, have both chriſtian faith and bap-

'tiſm;

'tiſm; for not one of theſe, but both toge-
'ther, does ſave: So that infants, tho' they
'be by you baptized, yet ſince by reaſon of
'their age they cannot believe, are not ſaved.
'It is therefore an idle and vain thing, for
'you to waſh perſons with water, at ſuch
'a time when you may indeed cleanſe their
'ſkin from dirt in a human manner, but not
'purge their ſouls from ſin: But we do ſtay
'till the proper time of faith; and when a
'perſon is capable to know his God, and be-
'lieve in him, then we do, not as you charge
'us, re-baptize him, but baptize him; for
'he is ſo to be accounted, as not yet baptized,
'who is not waſhed with that baptiſm, by
'which ſins are done away.'

THIS account of their practice does perfectly agree with the *modern Baptiſts*: And the author who relates it, ſays alſo,

'THAT they were reported to renounce
'all the Old Teſtament, and all the New,
'except the four goſpels. But this he ſays
'he was not ſure of; and would not im-
'pute it to them, for fear he might ſlander
'them.'

So it appears that he took ſome care in reporting their opinions, and can hardly be ſuppoſed to accuſe them ſo poſitively of that which he only had by hearſay, or at leaſt to make it the firſt article of their hereſy.

A YEAR after this *author* had written againſt them, St. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clareval*, was deſired by the Pope to accompany ſome biſhops, whom he had ſent to ſtop the ſpreading of theſe doctrines, and reduce thoſe who had been led into them. When they came nigh to the territory of the earl of St. *Giles*,

Bernard writes a letter to the ſaid earl, in whoſe country the aforeſaid *Henry* was at this time harboured; in which he recounts what miſchiefs that heretick, as he calls him, had done.

Wall's *Hiſt. Bapt.* Part II. p. 175.

'THE churches, ſays he, are without 'people; the people without prieſts, &c. 'God's holy place is accounted profane; the 'ſacraments are eſteemed unholy, &c. Men 'die in their ſins; their ſouls carried to that 'terrible judicature, alas! neither reconciled 'by penance, nor ſtrengthned by the holy 'communion. The infants of *Chriſtians* are 'hindred from the life of Chriſt, the grace 'of baptiſm being denied them: Nor are 'they ſuffered to come to their ſalvation, 'tho' our Saviour compaſſionately cries out in 'their behalf, ſaying, *Suffer little children 'to come to me*, &c.'

THE ſame St. *Bernard* publiſhed a little after ſeveral ſermons; in one of which he complains of a ſort of hereticks, who pretended to derive their doctrines from the Apoſtles, ſuppoſed to be theſe *Petrobruſians* and *Henricians*: Concerning whom he ſays,

Sermon in Cant. 66.

'They laugh at us for baptizing infants, for 'our praying for the dead, and for deſiring 'the prayers of the ſaints: They believe no 'fire of purgatory after death, but that the 'ſoul when it departs the body preſently paſſes 'either into reſt or damnation.'

'TIS true, that both theſe authors give them but an ill character, and impute many errors and vile practices to them: But, of theſe, the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves are willing to clear them.

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THE truth is, says Mr. *Marshall*, 'These two men did, for twenty years together, 'so much spread the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, and so plague the bishops mitres, 'and the monks bellies, that I wonder not, 'though they charged any thing upon them, 'which might make them odious to the 'people.' *Infant-bapt.* p. 66.

THEIR new doctrine did strangely spread in a little time; and tho' it began only in *Dauphine*, it soon obtained in most of the provinces of *France*; and from being buzz'd about in deserts, and little villages, it began quickly to be owned by great crouds of people, and entertained in populous towns and cities: Which greatly enraged the *popish clergy*, and occasioned a very hot persecution. *Peter* was in the year 1144 taken in the territory of St. *Giles*, and according to the laws of those times burnt to death. *Henry* escaped for some time after this, and went on to propagate the same doctrines in several places; but at length he was taken also, and delivered in chains to the bishop of *Ostia*: But what was done with him is not said, tho' it may easily be supposed; for the men of that character don't use to be guilty of letting hereticks escape out of their hands.

THESE persons lived in the 12th century after Christ, and had a great number of followers, who kept themselves clear of many gross errors, with which the church of *Rome* was corrupted in that dark time. And yet there were two famous persons, who lived and attempted a reformation of religion, above an hundred years before these; who are also accused of broaching this doctrine, and found-

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ing a ſect that denied the baptiſm of infants: That is, *Bruno* and *Berengarius*; the former was biſhop of *Angers*, and the latter deacon of the ſame church.

BOTH theſe are ſaid to have attempted a reformation of ſome corrupt doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1035. among which the practice of baptizing infants was one. Of this there are two witneſſes produced, which Dr. *Wall* acknowledges to have great appearance of truth, notwithſtanding his endeavours to render it ſuſpicious.

ONE proof that theſe men were againſt infant-baptiſm, is from a letter written by *Deodwinus*, biſhop of *Leige*, to *Henry* I. king of *France*; in which are theſe words: 'There is a report come out of *France*, and 'which goes thro' all *Germany*, that theſe 'two,' *viz.* *Bruno* and *Berengarius*, 'do 'maintain that the Lord's body [the hoſt] 'is not the body, but a ſhadow and figure 'of the Lord's body. And that they do 'diſannul lawful marriages; and, as far as 'in them lies, overthrow the baptiſm of in-'fants.'

Wall's *Hiſt.* c. vii. Part II. p. 159.

THE other proof produced, is from *Guitmund*, who wrote againſt *Berengarius*, towards the latter end of his life. This *author*, after he had taken notice of the afore-mentioned letter, and the opinions therein laid to their charge, ſays: 'That *Berengarius* finding 'that thoſe two opinions [of marriage, and 'baptiſm] would not be endured, by the 'ears even of the worſt men that were, and 'that there was no pretence in ſcripture to be 'brought for them, betook himſelf wholly

Ibid. Part II. p. 160.

'to uphold the other [*viz.* that againſt tran-
'ſubſtantiation] in which he ſeemed to have
'the teſtimony of our ſenſes on his ſide, and
'againſt which none of the holy fathers had
'ſo fully ſpoken, and for which he pick'd
'up ſome reaſons, and ſome places of ſcrip-
'ture miſunderſtood.'

THIS ſeems to be agreeable to the method of the firſt *authors* of the preſent reformation in *England* and *Germany*. They ſet out with a deſign to reſcue both the ſacraments from their corruptions and abuſes, as has been proved; yet finding the common people incapable of receiving ſo great an alteration at once, dropt the buſineſs of baptizing children, and bent their chief endeavours againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

THESE were two famous *champions* for the truth, againſt popiſh errors and ſuperſtitions; eſpecially the latter: And for above an hundred years after, all that ſtood up for the purity of the Chriſtian religion, were called *Berengarians*. And ſo many were his followers, that *Matthew Paris* ſays, he drew all *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, to his opinion.

IF any ſtill doubt, whether there were in this age ſeveral who oppoſed the baptiſm of infants, let them read Dr. *Alix*'s remarks on the ancient church of *Piedmont*, and particularly what he ſays concerning one *Gundulphus*, and his followers in *Italy*; divers of whom were examined by the biſhop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in the Year 1025. who repreſents them to have given the following Reaſon againſt infant baptiſm, *viz.*

Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 85.

'BECAUSE to an infant, that neither wills 'nor runs, that knows nothing of faith, is 'ignorant of its own ſalvation and welfare; 'in whom there can be no deſire of regene-'ration, or confeſſion of faith; the will, 'faith, and confeſſion of another man, ſeems 'not in the leaſt to appertain.'

THUS do the moſt learned of the *Paedobaptiſts* themſelves make the firſt riſe of the *ſect*, they in contempt term *Anabaptiſts*, to be at leaſt five hundred years before the confuſions at *Munſter*, where others would fix their origin. Nor do ſome ſtop here; but go ſtill farther back, to find out the authors and founders of this ſect, even to the fourth century. For Mr. *Long*, Prebendary of St. *Peter*'s, *Exon*, ſays:

Hiſtory, Donatiſts, p. 60. 'For, though there were great fewds be-'tween the *Donatiſts*, and others, that ſepa-'rated from them, on the like pretences 'as they ſeparated from the *Catholicks*, as '*Maximinianiſts* and *Luciferians*, who were 'profeſſed *Anabaptiſts*.'

NOW the *Donatiſts* flouriſhed about the year 400. as appears by ſeveral edicts publiſhed againſt them about that time: And, though the name of *Anabaptiſt* is given in ſeveral ancient writers to the *Donatiſts*, and *Arians* in general, this was not becauſe they objected againſt the baptiſm of infants; but for their baptizing thoſe again, who had been baptized before by the *Catholicks*, either in infancy, or at age.

BUT now, concerning the *Luciferians*, Mr. *Long* aſſerts:

Ib. *p.* 103. 'THAT they did not only rebaptize the 'adult, that came over to them, but refuſed

'to

'to baptize children, contrary to the practice 'of the Church, as appears, ſays he, by ſe- 'veral diſcourſes of St. *Auguſtin*.'

THESE, by his account, were the moſt moderate of thoſe who ſeparated from the Catholick church in thoſe times: That they were called *Luciferians* from *Lucifer Calaritanus*, biſhop of *Sardinia*, once a zealous defender of the Catholick faith againſt the *Arians*, for which he was baniſhed by them, when they had the Power; and that his ſeparation from the *Catholicks* was occaſioned by their ſhewing too much countenance to the *Arians*, and admitting them upon too eaſy conditions, not only into their communion, but into eccleſiaſtical dignities. *Hiſtory of Donatiſts*, p. 102.

HE was a man greatly eſteemed and commended on many accounts by the *Catholicks*; great numbers were of his perſwaſion, and followed him, and ſtood independent on the *Donatiſts* congregations, or any of the other factions.

MR. *Philpot* the martyr, in a letter of his to his fellow-ſufferer, who ſcrupled infants baptiſm, finds out another about this time, on whom he fathers the firſt riſe of this opinion. Ib. *p.* 103.

ONE of his fellow-ſufferers for the Proteſtant religion, being in doubt about the lawfulneſs of infant baptiſm, writ a letter to him about it. In *Philpot*'s anſwer to this, he ſays,

'THAT *Auxentius* one of the *Arians* 'ſect, with his adherents, was one of the firſt 'that denied the baptiſm of children; and 'next after him, *Pelagius* the Heretick, and 'ſome *Caſe of Infant Baptiſm*, p. 96.

'some other that were in St. *Bernard*'s time, 'as it appears by his writings.'

Socrates, *Eccleſi. Hiſt.* Lib. IV. Ch. XXV. *Greek Copy*, Ch. XXX.

THIS *Auxentius* was biſhop of *Milan*, and departed this life in the year 378. being ſucceeded in his biſhoprick by St. *Ambroſe*, who is remarkable for his being elected a biſhop before he was baptized.

OTHERS have followed this opinion; as *Bullinger* *, *George Phillips* †, *Holms* ‖, and the *Athenian Oracle* ⁂.

I SHALL not enquire into the truth of theſe repreſentations: Both the *Donatiſts* and *Arians* are termed *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral ancient *authors*; but the occaſion of giving them that title is diſputed. However, ſince they were accuſed of groſs hereſies, and the authors of a dreadful ſchiſm in the church, ſome writers againſt the *Baptiſts* are willing enough to repreſent theſe as their predeceſſors.

Wall's *Hiſt.* Vol. II. Ch. IV. Sect. III.

BUT, if this be doubtful, there is ſtill a more early oppoſer of infant baptiſm produced by others; of which there is ſuch authentic proof, as not to be denied by any; and that is *Tertullian*, who flouriſhed about the year 200, and was very famous in the Chriſtian church, leaving many learned writings behind him.

THIS man is the firſt chriſtian writer, who expreſly mentions ſuch a practice as baptizing of infants, and at the ſame time condemns it, as an unwarrantable and irrational practice.

* Tom. III., Sect. VIII. † *Anſw. to* Lamb. *p.* 137. ‖ *Animad. on* Tom. *p.* 93. ⁂ Vol. III. *p.* 245.

CHAS-

CHASSANIAN, a learned *Frenchman*, and zealous *Pædobaptiſt*, in his hiſtory of the *Albigeois*, having proved that they rejected the baptiſm of infants, tho' he thinks that they erred in this matter, yet endeavours to excuſe them, by alledging, 'That they were 'not the firſt who were of this opinion, 'ſeeing *Tertullian* was for deferring baptiſm, 'till perſons came to years of diſcretion.' Dr. *Wall*, who in one place calls *Peter Bruis* and *Henry* the two firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* preachers in the world, yet in another place acknowledges there was, in the firſt four hundred years, one *Tertullian*, who adviſed it to be deferred till the age of reaſon; and one *Nazianzen* till three years of age, in caſe of no danger of death. Mr. *John Goodwin* the *Independent*, being engaged in this controverſy, ſays, 'That *Tertullian* ſeems to have 'been the firſt who perſuaded Chriſtians to 'delay baptiſm, eſpecially the baptiſm of 'their children, until afterwards.' Mr. *Stokes* alſo calls *Tertullian* the firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* in the world.

Stennet againſt Ruſſen, p. 83.

Wall's Hiſt. Bapt. Part I. p. 82.

Catabap. p. 74.

Remarks on Dr. Gale, p. 53.

BOTH parties in this controverſy cite *Tertullian*'s words, as making for them. The *Pædobaptiſts*, to prove there was ſuch a practice as baptizing infants in the Chriſtian church, as early as *Tertullian*'s time: The *Baptiſts*, to improve what he ſays againſt it; and to ſhew that the firſt writer that makes any mention of ſuch a cuſtom, diſlikes and condemns it. For thus he expreſſeth himſelf:

'THEY whoſe duty it is to adminiſter 'baptiſm are to know, That it muſt not be 'given raſhly, *give to every one that asketh 'thee*, has its proper ſubject, and relates to 'almſ-

Tertull. de Bapt. c. 18.

'almsgiving; But the command rather is here
'to be considered; *Give not that which is*
'*holy to dogs, neither cast your pearls before*
'*swine*; and that, *lay hands suddenly on no*
'*man, neither be partaker of other mens*
'*faults*. Therefore, according to every one's
'condition and disposition, and also their age,
'the delaying of baptism is more profitable,
'especially in the case of little children;
'for what need is there, that the godfathers
'should be brought into danger, because they
'may either fail of their promises by death,
'or they may be mistaken, by a child's pro-
'ving of wicked disposition. Our Lord
'says, indeed, *forbid them not to come unto*
'*me*; therefore let them come when they are
'grown up; let them come when they under-
'stand, when they are instructed, whither it
'is that they come; let them be made Chri-
'stians, when they can know Christ: What
'need their guiltless age make such haste to
'the forgiveness of sins? Men will proceed
'more warily in worldly things; and he that
'should not have earthly goods committed to
'him, yet shall have heavenly; let them
'know how to desire this salvation, that you
'may appear to have *given to one that*
'*asketh*.'

Wall's *Hist. Bap.* p. 1, 26.

HERE then is a *Baptist* as early as the year 200. and if, by that term, we only understand an opposer of infant baptism, he bids very fair for being the first; because that supposes such a practice to be introduced, or at least attempted. We cannot expect, that any should expressly declare themselves against infants baptism before such an opinion was broached, or that any could separate till such

practice

practice was introduced. But, if that term be used to signify such as hold the doctrine, on which infant-baptism is rejected, *viz.* That a personal profession of repentance and faith is necessary from those who are admitted to baptism, this was taught and practised by persons of greater authority than *Tertullian*, and who lived long before his time; as will appear by the next account, which some have given concerning this matter, *viz.*

THAT the baptism of infants was, in the primitive times, left as an indifferent thing; being by some practised, by others omitted.

SOME *Pædobaptists*, of no small reputation, finding themselves so hardly pressed in the business of antiquity, are willing to halve the matter with their Brethren.

I FIND several men of great learning, and diligent searchers into antiquity, to go this way; as *Grotius*, *Daillee*, bishop *Taylor*, and Mr. *Baxter*. What they say to this purpose is worth observing.

GROTIUS, who his adversaries acknowledge, had a vast stock of learning, and was well read in antiquity, says to this purpose in his Annotations on *Matt.* xix. 14. taken partly from *Wall*, and partly from *Poole*.

IT does not appear, that infant-baptism did universally obtain in the primitive times, but was more frequent in *Africa* than any where else. In the councils of the ancients, one shall find no earlier mention of *Pædobaptism* than in the council of *Carthage*. Wall, par. ii. *p.* 23.

IN *Tertullian*'s time it appears, there was nothing defined concerning the age in which they were to be baptized, that were conse- Tertullian *on Baptism*, Ch. xviii.

crated by their parents to Christian discipline; because he dissuades, by so many reasons, the baptizing of infants.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, speaking of those who die without baptism, mentions among the rest those that were not baptized by reason of infancy; and he himself, though a bishop's son, and educated a long time under the care of his father, was not baptized till he became a youth, as is related in his life. And *Chrysostom*, though according to the true opinion born of Christian parents, and educated by *Miletius* a bishop, was not baptized till past twenty one years of age.

But most of all, the canon of the synod of *Neo Cesarea*, held in the year 315. is worthy our notice; which determines, that a woman with child may be baptized when she will; for in baptism the mother communicates nothing to the child, because, in the profession at baptism, every one declares his own resolution: How much soever interpreters draw it to another sense, it is plain, that the doubt concerning baptizing women great with child was for that reason, because the child might seem to be baptized together with its mother, and a child was not wont to be baptized, but upon its own will and profession; and so *Balsamon* explains it, that cannot be enlightned or baptized; and also *Zonaras*, the child in the womb has then need of baptism, when it shall be able to deliberate and choose; and many of the *Greeks*, says *Grotius*, from the beginning to this day, observe the custom of detaining the baptism of their infants, until they are able to make con-

Com. Cant. Tit. 4.

confession of their own faith; and then concludes, by saying, he has not brought this to overthrow the baptism of infants, but to shew the liberty, antiquity, and difference of the custom.

But notwithstanding this last clause, wherein he endeavours to excuse what he had said, the *Pedobaptists* are very angry with him, for what he has published against that practice. One says, 'That he was perverted 'by cardinal *Perron*, who, in his answer to 'King *James*, pleaded the cause of the *Ana-'baptists* with all his might.' Another accuses him with an intention herein to gratify both the *Socinians* and the *Papists*. And a third says upon this, 'That he was naturally 'inclined to trim all controversies in religion 'that came in his way; and using that vast 'stock of learning which he had, as princes 'that would hold the ballance, do their 'power, to help the weakest side.'

Rivet's *Apology*. Marshal, *Def.* p. 29. Wall's *Hist. Bap.* par. ii. p. 22.

The learned bishop *Taylor* gives the same account, not only when he is representing the arguments of the *Anabaptists*, but when he gives his own sentiments in the case. His words are these, as quoted by Mr. *Wall*:

'In the first age, says he, they did, or 'they did not, according as they pleased; for 'there is no pretence of tradition that the 'church, in all ages, did baptize all the in-'fants of Christian parents: It is more certain 'that they did not do it always, than that they 'did it in the first age. St. *Ambrose*, St. *Je-'rome*, and St. *Austin*, were born of Chri-'stian parents, and yet not baptized until the 'full age of a man, or more.

Dissuasive from Popery, par. ii. lib. ii. sect. iii. p. 317. Wall's *Hist. Bap.* par. ii. p. 24.

'AND a little after: 'That it was the 'cuſtom ſo to do in ſome churches, and at 'ſome times, is without all queſtion; but 'that there is a tradition from the *Apoſtles* ſo 'to do, relies on but two witneſſes, *Origen* 'and *Auſtin*; and, the latter having received 'it from the former, it wholly relies on one 'ſingle teſtimony; which is but a pitiful ar-'gument to prove a tradition Apoſtolical. 'He is the firſt that ſpoke it; but *Tertullian*, 'that was before him, ſeems to ſpeak againſt 'it; which he would not have done, if it had 'been a tradition apoſtolical.'

RIGALTIUS, another writer who was very converſant with the works of the fathers, gives the ſame account:

Annot. in Cy-priani, *Ep. ad Fid.*

'FROM the age of the *Apoſtles*, ſays he, 'to the time of *Tertullian*, the matter con-'tinued *in ambiguo*, doubtful or various; 'and there were ſome, who, on occaſion of 'our Lord's ſaying, *Suffer little children to 'come to me*, though he gave no order to bap-'tize them, did baptize even new-born in-'fants; and, as if they were tranſacting ſome 'ſecular bargain with God Almighty, brought 'ſponſors and bondſmen to be bound for them, 'that when they were grown up, they ſhould 'not depart from the Chriſtian faith; which 'cuſtom *Tertullian* did not like.'

Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 13.

MONSIEUR *Daille* alſo, who muſt be reckoned amongſt the men of no ſmall learning, was of the ſame opinion. He ſays,

De Uſu Patrum, *lib.* ii. *ch.* vi.

'IN ancient times, they often deferred the 'baptizing both of infants, and of other peo-'ple, as appears by the hiſtory of the Empe-'rours, *Conſtantine* the great, of *Conſtan-*

Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 25.

'tius, of *Theodosius*, of *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, out of St. *Ambrose*; and also by the orations and homilies of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and of St. *Basil* on this subject. And some of the *Fathers* too have been of opinion that it is fit it should be deferred.'

AND one would wonder to find, even Mr. *Baxter*, though he had writ so zealously for infant-baptism, and cast such bitter reflections upon those that deny it; yet at length to center in this opinion, and speak more favourably of them.

Baxter's *Life*, book I. p. 140.

'AND for the *Anabaptists* themselves, says he, as I found that most of them were persons of zeal in religion, so *many* of them were sober, godly people, and differed from others but in the point of infant-baptism, or at most in the points of predestination, and free-will, and perseverance. And I found in all antiquity, that though infant-baptism was held lawful by the church, yet some, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, thought it most convenient to make no haste; and the rest left the time of baptism to every ones liberty, and forced none to be baptized. Insomuch, as not only *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and such others, as were converted at years of discretion, but *Augustine*, and many such as were the children of Christian parents, one or both, did defer their baptism much longer, than I think they should have done. So that in the primitive church some were baptized in infancy, and some at ripe age, and some a little before their death; and none were forced, but all left free.

Wall's Hist. Bap. par. ii. p. 36.

'*At another time*, he says, 'In the days 'of *Tertullian*, *Nazianzen* and *Austin*, men 'had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their 'children, when, and at what age they pleas'ed; and none were forced to go against 'their consciences therein.'

THE last account we have of this matter is, That in the first ages of Christianity, no infants were baptized; but that this practice was brought in, after a certain term of years, without any precedent from *Christ*, his *Apostles*, or those apostolical men that lived next after them. And this is not only the opinion of the *Baptists*, but many of the *Pædobaptists*, who have searched antiquity about this matter, do ingenuously confess the same. Many instances might be produced of this; I will only give three or four.

Ib. p. 10.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, who lived about the year 750, is very express in this point: 'It is to be noted, says he, That 'in the primitive times, the grace of bap'tism was wont to be given to those only, 'who were arrived to that maturity of body 'and mind, that they could know and under'stand what were the benefits of baptism, 'what was to be confessed and believed; 'and, in a word, what was to be observed 'of those that are regenerated in Christ. But 'when the diligence about our divine religion 'encreased, the Christians understanding that 'the original sin of *Adam* did involve in guilt, 'not only those who had added to it by their 'own wicked works, but those also, who ha'ving done no wickedness themselves. The 'orthodox *Christians*, I say, understanding 'this, lest children should perish, if they died

'without the remedy of the grace of regene- Stennet against Ruſſen, p. 88.
'ration, appointed them to be baptized for
'the forgiveneſs of ſins.'

LUDOVICUS VIVES, in his notes on *Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei*, ſays: 'No 'perſon was formerly brought to the ſacred 'baptiſtery, till he was of adult age, and 'both underſtood the meaning of that my- 'ſtical water, and requeſted once and again 'to be waſhed in it.'

SUIGERUS ſays the ſame thing, but is more poſitive as to the time. 'In the two 'firſt ages, ſays he, no perſon was baptized 'till he was inſtructed in the faith, and 'tinctur'd with the doctrine of Chriſt, and 'could teſtify his own faith; becauſe of 'thoſe words of Chriſt, *He that believeth, 'and is baptized.* Therefore believing was 'firſt.' Ib. p. 86.

CURCELLÆUS does not only confeſs the ſame, but fixes the time of bringing in infant-baptiſm. His words are theſe:

'PÆDOBAPTISM was not known in the Ib. p. 87.
'world the two firſt ages after Chriſt. In the 'third and fourth it was approved by a few. 'At length in the fifth, and following ages, 'it began to obtain in divers places. And 'therefore we obſerve this rite indeed as an 'ancient cuſtom, but not as an apoſtolical 'tradition.'

AND in another place, according to Mr. *Stennet*, he ſays: 'The cuſtom of baptizing 'infants did not begin before the third age 'after Chriſt; and there appears not the 'leaſt footſtep of it, in the two firſt cen- 'turies.'

I WILL only add to these an *English writer*, whose great learning, and diligent search into antiquity, are well known. I mean the reverend Dr. *Barlow*, afterwards bishop of *Lincoln*.

THIS famous gentleman, before his great preferment in the establish'd church had either bias'd his opinion, or tempted him to conceal it, frankly acknowledged, That both scripture and antiquity were on the side of the *Baptists*.

Danvers, *Cent.* 4. *p.* 63.

'I BELIEVE, and know,' says he, in a letter to Mr. *Tombi*, 'that there is neither 'precept nor example in scripture for Pædo-'baptism, nor any just evidence for it for 'about two hundred years after Christ. Sure 'I am, that in the primitive times they were '*Catechumeni*, then *illuminati*, or *baptizati*. 'The truth is, I do believe, Pædobaptism, 'how or by whom I know not, came into 'the world in the second century, and in the 'third and fourth began to be practised, tho' 'not generally; and defended, as lawful, 'from the text grosly misunderstood, *John* 'iii. 5. Upon the like gross mistake of 'John vi. 53. they did, for many centuries, 'both in the *Greek* and *Latin* church, com-'municate *infants*, and give them the Lord's 'Supper: And I do confess, says he, they 'might do both, as well as either.'

WHEN this letter was published, and improved by the *Baptists*, the advocates for Pædobaptism would not let the bishop rest, till he had either denied the letter, or writ a recantation. At length Mr. *Wills* extorted a letter from him, and leave to publish it. In this the bishop acknowledges his writing

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as above; but is ſo far from proving he was miſtaken, or had miſrepreſented the hiſtory of thoſe times, that he does not affirm any ſuch thing; only tries to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, that he writ it twenty years ago, when he talked more, and underſtood leſs; and that whatever objections he had againſt infant-baptiſm, he never diſturbed the peace of the church, nor declined the practice.

THUS have I traced this matter, till we are brought up to the beginning of Chriſtianity it ſelf. And this laſt opinion is that wherein the controverſy reſteth.

I SHALL only add ſome brief remarks on the account given of the different times aſſigned by the learned for the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, and the ſeveral perſons whom they repreſent to have been the founders of that ſect.

1. THAT the moſt common opinion concerning the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, and that which would reflect the greateſt odium upon them, has the leaſt appearance of truth in it, and is ſufficiently confuted by the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves: *viz.* That they ſprung from thoſe mad and heretical people at *Munſter* in *Germany*, a little after the reformation. The moſt learned of their adverſaries, and thoſe that have examined the hiſtories of this people with the greateſt care and diligence, make them to be much ancienter, and aſſign no leſs than ſeven other different periods of time for their origin; any one of which being true, will wipe away that ſcandal.

2. THAT

2. THAT as tradition is generally acknowledged to be the beſt and chief ſupport of infant-baptiſm; ſo even this appears, from their own accounts, to be very precarious and uncertain.

THERE are but two ways, by which they can pretend to juſtify this practice; *viz.* from ſcripture, and from antiquity.

Now the moſt learned and ingenious of the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves do confeſs, that there is no expreſs mention of any ſuch thing in ſcripture; and that the arguments from thence are, at moſt, but probable. Their more uſual way therefore is to recur to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and the writings of the *Fathers*: But how uncertain and contradictory their accounts are from hence, does ſufficiently appear by this collection.

3. WE may ſee here alſo, that the advocates of infant-baptiſm do themſelves confeſs and prove, that in all ages of Chriſtianity almoſt, there have been ſome who have oppoſed that practice, as an human tradition, and unwarrantable cuſtom.

THE writings of the firſt two hundred years are wholly ſilent about it: The firſt that mentions it, condemns it; and very many of thoſe, who ſtood up afterwards to oppoſe the corruptions and abuſes brought into religion, declared their diſlike of it.

Now for all this to be granted, and proved too, by the adverſaries of the *Baptiſts*, is no ſmall argument in their favour; and may convince the world, that their ſcruples in this

caſe are not wholly groundleſs, nor a mere novelty.

4. In this variety of opinions, and theſe different accounts from ancient hiſtory, thoſe who either want ability or opportunity to ſearch thoſe writings themſelves, have moſt reaſon to depend on their account, who ſay, that there are no footſteps of infant-baptiſm in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity; and that it appears to have been introduced a conſiderable time after Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

These, I ſay, ſuppoſing them to be men of equal learning and probity with the others, have moſt reaſon to be relied on; becauſe it made againſt their own practice, and what they appeared deſirous to ſupport and maintain. Men are too apt to be partial to their own ſide, and to conceal or let paſs any thing that would reflect upon their own practice in religion: He that appears ſo fair therefore, as to relate what makes againſt him as well as for him, is freeſt from ſuſpicion.

Again: Thoſe who appear too angry with them, for making theſe conceſſions to the *Baptiſts*, have not yet been able to confute them, by producing any direction from *Chriſt* or his *Apoſtles* to baptize infants, nor one inſtance of baptizing any ſuch for the firſt two hundred years. And if it be ſaid, Thoſe who talk thus are but few, in compariſon of the great number that oppoſe them; it is anſwered, That truth is not always on the ſide of the greateſt number; and that their number is not inconſiderable, when we add to them all the learned among the *Baptiſts*, and a great number of learned men

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in the church of *Rome*, who affert the ſame thing.

Vid. Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 173.

6. THIS diverſity of opinions among the learned about tradition, and the practice of the Fathers, tends to confirm the *Baptiſts* in their opinion; That the holy ſcriptures are to be the only rule of our faith and worſhip; and that we are to practiſe nothing, as an inſtitution of Chriſt, which is not therein contained. Suppoſing it could be proved, by ſufficient evidence, that the churches did immediately after the apoſtles practiſe infant-baptiſm, it would not neceſſarily follow from thence that it was inſtituted by Chriſt, and practiſed by the Apoſtles; becauſe the moſt ancient churches were ſubject to err, and thoſe chriſtians who lived in the very next age after the Apoſtles, made ſeveral additions, both in doctrine and worſhip. Their writings may therefore prove fact, but not right: And the grand queſtion would ſtill remain; Whether this practice was derived from *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, or begun by ſome others after his death?

THE writings of the *Fathers* therefore could only furniſh them with probable arguments: And we muſt, after all, refer to ſcripture for certainty in this, and all other controverſies about points of revealed religion. But how defective are they, even in theſe probable arguments; and how miſerably are they divided, in their opinions on this account? It is eaſy to diſcern from this collection, that they are much more ſucceſsful in confuting each other, than in defending themſelves: What one calls orthodox, another

other represents as heresy; and a practice highly applauded by one, is severely censured by another. And in ecclesiastical history there is a very great uncertainty, even as to facts.

But, in the midst of these confusions, *we have a sure word; whereunto we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place. To the law therefore, and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* 2 Pet. i. 19. Isa. viii. 20.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. FROM the time of WICKLIFFE, to the end of the reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Some account of Wickliff, Page 2. *His opinions*, p. 7. *is supposed to have been a* Baptist, p. 8. *Many of his followers were* Baptists, p. 11. *A law made for burning Heretick*s: William Sawtre *burnt*, p. 20. *Three* Lollards *burnt*, p. 23. *Ten* Anabaptists *put to death*, p. 32. *Fourteen* Hollanders *burnt*, p. 33. *Two* Anabaptists *burnt in* Smithfield, p. 39. *Thirty-one* Anabaptists *banished*, p. 42. Joan Boches *burnt*, p. 48. George Van Pare *burnt*, p. 55. *Mr.* Peirce's *account and remarks thereon*, p. 59. David George *burnt three years after his death*, p. 64. *Mr.* Fox's *letter to Queen* Elizabeth, *against burning*, p. 70. *Dr.* Some's *account of the* Baptists, p. 76. *Queen* Elizabeth *banishes the* Anabaptists, p. 79.

CHAP. II. From the end of the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, to the end of the reign of King JAMES I.

The Puritans *petition for a toleration; opposed by the bishops*, p. 84. *A proclamation against* Papists, *another against* Puritans; Rapin's *remark thereon*, p. 87. Enoch Clapham's *account of the* Baptists, p. 88. *Mr.* John Smith *settles a Baptist church in* Holland, p. 90. *The English exiles oppose him, and charge him with baptizing himself*, p. 91. *The controversy about a proper admini-*

miniſtrator, p. 96. Edward Wightman, *a* Baptiſt, *burnt at* Litchfield, p. 108. *Some* Engliſh Baptiſts *ſettle in* New England, p. 110. *They are perſecuted there*, p. 114. Roger Williams *baniſhed*, p. 117. *Mr.* Tombes's *epiſtle, with his Examen, ſent to* New England, p. 121. *An account of the Baptiſt churches in* Penſilvania, p. 122. *The* Baptiſts *account of themſelves*, p. 124. *The firſt book in* Engliſh *publiſhed againſt Infant-baptiſm*, p. 128. *The* Baptiſts *preſent their humble ſupplication to King* James, p. 130. *A letter from a* Baptiſt *to his friends intercepted, publiſhed, and anſwered*, p. 133. Dod *and* Cleaver *publiſh a treatiſe againſt the* Baptiſts, p. 141.

CHAP. III. From the end of the reign of King JAMES I. to the reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

The Engliſh Baptiſts *begin to form diſtinct ſocieties*, p. 147. *Mr.* Edward Barber *publiſhes a treatiſe in defence of immerſion*, p. 151. *Mr.* Francis Cornwell *proſelyted to the* Baptiſts, p. 152. *A diſpute between Dr.* Featly *and four* Anabaptiſts *in* Southwark, p. 153. *Mr.* Baxter's *firſt acquaintance with the* Baptiſts, p. 159. *Some famous writers ſpeak favourably of the* Engliſh Baptiſts, p. 165. *Some* Pædobaptiſts *diſpleaſed thereat*, p. 168. *The* Baptiſts *publiſh a confeſſion of their faith*, p. 170. *It is acknowledged to be orthodox, by Dr.* Featly *and Mr.* Marſhall, p. 171. *The* Preſbyterians *againſt liberty of conſcience, and a toleration*, viz. *Mr.* Calamy, p. 176. *Dr.* Burgeſs *and Mr.* Baxter, p. 177. *Mr.* Prynn *and Mr.* Edwards, p. 178. *The city of* London, *and*

and assembly of divines, p. 184. *The whole body of* London *ministers*, p. 187. *The* Lancashire *and* Warwickshire *ministers*, p. 190. *The* Baptists *prosecuted upon an ordinance of parliament*, p. 193. *A declaration of the lords and commons, in favour of the* Baptists, p. 196. *An ordinance for punishing blasphemies and heresies*, p. 199. John Biddle *and* William Kiffin *prosecuted thereupon*, p. 206. *The sufferings of the* English Baptists, p. 217. *viz.* Vavasor Powell *and* Edward Barber, p. 219. Benj. Cox, p. 220. Henry Denne, p. 221. *Mr.* Coppe, p. 224. *Mr.* Lamb, p. 225. *Mr.* Holfon *and Mr.* Knollys, p. 226. John Sims, p. 232. Andrew Wyke, p. 235. Samuel Oates, p. 236. *Mr.* Hutchinson's *account of the* English Baptists, p. 241. Cromwel *made protector*, p. 244. *A conspiracy against him*, p. 249. *The convention parliament*. *Bishop* Burnet's *observation thereon*, p. 257.

CHAP. IV. Containing an account of some of the most eminent and leading men amongst the *English Baptists*.

Mr. John Smith, p. 265. *Mr.* Thomas Helwisse, p. 269. *Mr.* John Morton, p. 276. *Mr.* John Toombes, p. 278. *Mr.* Henry Denne, p. 297. *Mr.* Henry Jessey, p. 307. *Mr.* William Dell, p. 323. *Mr.* Hanserd Knollys, p. 334. *Mr.* Francis Cornwell, p. 344. *Mr.* Christopher Blackwood, p. 350. *Mr.* Benjamin Cox, p. 353. *Mr.* Daniel Dyke, p. 355. *Mr.* Samuel Fisher, p. 359. *Mr.* Francis Bampfeild, p. 363. *Mr.* Edward Stenner, p. 368. *Mr.* Vavasor Powel, p. 373.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE English Baptists.

CHAP. I.

From the time of Wickliff, *to the end of the reign of* Q. Elizabeth.

THOUGH the *Engliſh* have, above moſt nations, been always very zealous of their natural rights and privileges; yet the ſpirit of perſecution has often prevailed in this land, and under the maſk of religion, the properties of men have been invaded, liberty of

conſcience taken away, and the moſt cruel and barbarous actions committed. And whenever it has been thus, thoſe who were branded with the name of *Anabaptiſts* have been ſure to feel the ſharpeſt part of theſe things.

THE *Martyrology* of the foreign *Anabaptiſts* is a large book in *Folio*; and the account it gives of the number of their martyrs and confeſſors, as well as of the cruelties that were uſed towards them, very much exceeds any thing that has been done in *England*. However, according to their number in this land, and the degree to which perſecution has at any time ariſen, they have always had their full ſhare of it.

Edw. III. An. Dom. 1371. JOHN WICKLIFF was the firſt perſon of any note, who in *England* oppoſed the corruptions of the pope and his clergy, and who met with any conſiderable ſucceſs in ſo doing. He began this work in the reign of king *Edward* III.

THERE were indeed before him ſeveral who ſhew'd their diſlike of many things in the eſtabliſh'd church, and frequently ſpoke againſt the ſuperſtitious clergy; but theſe were very few, and perſons of no great character, ſuch as did but little towards opening the eyes of the people. But this man having good natural abilities, the benefit of a liberal education, and ſeveral good friends at court to encourage and

and ſupport him, and above all, being extraordinarily qualified and aſſiſted by God, gave the firſt conſiderable check to the errors and ſuperſtition of thoſe times. And though the Reformation was not eſtabliſhed till about 187 years after, yet the firſt ſeeds of it were ſown by him; for which reaſon the beſt hiſtorians of the Reformation in *England*, begin their account from the days of *Wickliff*.

THE famous Martyrogoliſt Mr. *John Fox*, begins the ſecond part of his hiſtory thus: 'Although it be manifeſt and evident 'enough, that there were divers and ſundry before *Wickliff*'s time, which have 'wreſtled and labour'd in the ſame cauſe 'and quarrel that our countryman *Wick-*'*liff* hath done, whom the Holy Ghoſt 'hath from time to time raiſed and ſtirred 'up in the church of God, to vanquiſh 'and overthrow the great errors which 'daily did grow and prevail in the world; 'yet notwithſtanding, for ſo much as they 'are not many in number, neither yet very 'famous or notable, we will begin 'the narration of this our hiſtory with '*Wickcliff*, at whoſe time this furious fire 'of perſecution ſeem'd to take its original 'and beginning [a].'

BISHOP *Burnet* alſo begins his account of the Reformation with him, ſaying, 'From

[a] *Book of Martyrs*, firſt edit. p. 85.

'the days of *Wickcliff* there were many 'that diſliked moſt of the received doc-'trines in ſeveral parts of the nation [b].'

Wickliff *a graduate in* Merton *college.*

WE find no mention of him in hiſtory till his being a graduate in *Merton* college in *Oxford* [c]; ſo that no account can be given of his parentage, place of birth, or manner of education. His great abilities ſoon advanced him to a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity, and a living, in which he had the cure of ſouls. When he was convinced, by the word of God, of the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the times, and reſolved upon a reformation, theſe two places gave him great advantages for the promoting his deſign: for by the one he was frequently engaged in diſputations with the learned; and by the other, in preaching to the common people. He conſider'd with himſelf, that old cuſtoms and principles, that had been long rooted in the minds of the people, could not preſently, and all at once, be removed; and therefore reſolved to proceed gradually in his deſign, finding fault firſt with leſſer things, in order to come to the greater; beginning with ſome logical and metaphyſical miſtakes, and ſo proceeding till he came to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and other abuſes of the church. He endeavoured to expoſe the vi-

[b] *Hiſtory of Reformat.* vol. I. p. 23.
[c] *Fuller's Church Hiſt.* lib. iv. p. 130.

cious

cious lives and insolent behaviour of the clergy [d]; and especially their assuming the civil power, encroaching upon the prince's prerogative, exacting great sums from the people. This procured him the favour of the court, and particularly the duke of *Lancaster* (the king's son) and the Lord *Piercy*, which proved a great protection to him afterwards, when persecuted by the bishops.

Translates the bible.

'HE translated the bible (says *Burnet* [e]) 'out of *Latin* into *English*, with a long 'preface before it, in which he reflected 'severely on the corruptions of the clergy, 'and condemned the worshipping of saints 'and images, and denied the corporal pre-'sence of Christ's body in the sacrament, 'and exhorted all people to study the scrip-'tures. His bible, with this preface, was 'well received by a great many;" and tended greatly to open the eyes of the people, and is the first *English* bible that ever was.

WHAT was done by this famous man, towards removing those corruptions in doctrine and worship which were then in the *English* church, exposed him to the persecution of the *Romish* clergy, who exercised all the rage and power they durst against him.

[d] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 556.
[e] *Hist. Reformat.* vol. I. p. 23.

1376. *Is deprived and silenced.* FIRST, he was deprived of his benefice at *Oxford*, and silenced by *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this he was summoned to appear before a synod, which sat at St. *Paul's* church, to answer for his errors before his ordinary; but his two great friends and encouragers, the duke of *Lancaster* and Lord *Piercy*, appearing with him, nothing was done against him at this time.

Ordered by the pope to be prosecuted. AN account of his errors and proceedings being sent to pope *Gregory*, there was quickly a bull sent to *Oxford*, enjoining the university and clergy to apprehend him; and a letter from the pope to the king, requiring his majesty to join with and assist the clergy in prosecuting of him.

THIS gave fresh encouragement to the clergy; who having exhibited certain conclusions against him, cited him to appear again before a convocation of bishops at *Lambeth*, with a full resolution to condemn both him and his errors; but a message came from the court, which put a stop to their proceedings.

SEVERAL other attempts were made against him; but they could not proceed till the duke of *Lancaster* was removed from the king, and then he was condemn'd at *Oxford*: yet he died peaceably in his bed in the year 1385. tho' forty one years after his body was taken up and burnt.

As

As to his opinions, it is very difficult now to have a certain account of them; becauſe they who took ſo much care to burn his bones, did not neglect to deſtroy his books, which of the two were like to do them the moſt hurt. And to do this the more effectually, not only the prelates of *England* and *Bohemia*, but alſo a general council condemned all his books, and commanded them to be burnt; ſtrictly forbidding any perſon to read or conceal any of them, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt as maintainers of hereſy: ſo that in the year 1410, by diligent inquiſition about two hundred of them were gathered together in *Oxford* and *Bohemia*, and committed to the flames. We are now therefore forced to take the account of his opinions from his enemies; and if any credit may be given to their account, he was for carrying the reformation much further than it was in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, or ſince. For

His books condemned and burnt.

His opinions.

1. HE not only denied the pope's ſupremacy [f], but was againſt any perſon's aſſuming the title and authority of being the *head of the church*; aſſerting, 'That it is 'blaſphemy to call any *head of the church* 'ſave Chriſt alone.' *Art.* 1.

2. HE condemned epiſcopacy as being a creature of princes ſetting up. For he

[f] *Fuller à Wald.* p. 131.

Art. 14. aſſerted, 'That in the time of the apoſtles 'there were only two orders, *viz. prieſts* 'and *deacons*; and that a *biſhop* doth not 'differ from a *prieſt*.'

3. HE was for having miniſters maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, and not by tythes ſettled on them by law; ſaying, 'That *tythes* are 'pure alms, and that *paſtors* are not to 'exact them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures.'

Art. 24.

4. HE was not for giving the church a *power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to determine controverſies of faith.* For it is ſaid, 'That he ſlighted the authority of 'general councils, and affirmed, that wiſe 'men leave that as impertinent which is 'not plainly expreſſed in ſcripture.'

Art. 25, 26.

5. HE was alſo againſt preſcribed forms of prayer, but eſpecially againſt impoſing of them. For he ſaith, 'To bind men to 'ſet and preſcript forms of prayers, doth 'derogate from that liberty God hath given 'them.'

Art. 30.

Is ſuppoſed to have been a Baptiſt.

I AM inclined to believe Mr. *Wickliff* was a *Baptiſt*, becauſe ſome men of great note and learning in the church of *Rome*, have left it upon record, that he denied infant-baptiſm. *Thomas Waldenſis* [g] chargeth him expreſly with this opinion; and calls him one of the ſeven heads that came out of the bottomleſs pit, for it; ſaying, 'That

[g] *De Bapt. Sac. Tit.* 5. chap. liii.

'he

'he doth poſitively aſſert, That children are not to be ſacramentally baptized.'

THE ſame ſaith *Joſeph Vicecomes*[h]: 'As to adult baptiſm, no one ever doubted thereof, witneſs the monuments or writings of all the holy fathers and œcumenial councils, as well as the ſcriptures themſelves, eſpecially the *Acts of the apoſtles*; but as for infants baptiſm, he tells us, that '*Vincentius Victor*, *Hincmarus* of *Laudun*, the *Henrici* & *Apoſtolici*, *John Wickliff*, &c. did all of them witneſs againſt it in their times.'

BESIDES, they charge him with ſeveral of thoſe which are called *Anabaptiſtical* errors; ſuch as the refuſing to take an oath[i], and alſo that opinion, That dominion is founded in grace[k]. Upon theſe teſtimonies, ſome proteſtant writers have affirmed that *Wickliff* was a *Baptiſt*, and have put him in the number of thoſe who have born witneſs againſt infant-baptiſm. And had he been a man of a ſcandalous character, that would have brought reproach upon thoſe of that profeſſion, a leſs proof would have been ſufficient to have ranked him among that ſect. Jan Van Bright. Danvers.

BUT in defence of ſo great and learned a reformer, it is ſaid, that thoſe are only lies and ſlanders, caſt upon him by the *But accounted a ſlander of the* Papiſts.

[h] *De Rit. Bapt.* lib. ii. chap. 1.
[i] *Art.* 41. *condemned by the* Council of Conſtance.
[k] *Fuller*, *Art.* 51.

Papiſts,

Papiſts, his enraged enemies; and that *Vicecomes* has alſo reckoned *Luther*, *Calvin* and *Beza*, among the adverſaries of infant-baptiſm; which is, ſay they, a moſt evident falſhood: that if this had been his opinion, the *Council of Conſtance*, who condemned 45 of his ſuppoſed errors, would not have omitted objecting this againſt him, for in ſuch caſes, they commonly over did it: that there is a treatiſe ſtill extant of *Wickliff*'s, called *Dialogus*, in which he ſpeaks of the baptizing of infants, as being according to Chriſt's rule; and the parents intention of doing it, as a good intention.

ALL this does indeed render it doubtful whether he was of that opinion. Yet it is to be conſidered, on the other hand, that the *Papiſts* were the beſt capable of giving an account of perſons who lived in thoſe times; that though they often caſt ſlanders upon thoſe who oppoſed their ſuperſtitions, it follows not, that all muſt be falſe which they ſaid of them. *Fox*, who has related his opinions, has left out one of thoſe condemned in the convocation at *London*, and three of the 45 condemned in the *Council of Conſtance*, as appears by his firſt edition; which muſt be concealed for ſome deſign, not known. And although when *Wickliff* wrote his *Dialogus*, he held the baptizing of infants; yet it does not hence follow, that he might not afterwards

28, 35, *and* 45.

be

be of another mind, and write againſt it in ſome of thoſe two hundred books of his that were burnt; of which, as Mr. *Fuller*[l] ſaith, not a tittle is left.

SEVERAL of the *Romiſh* errors are aſſerted in that book; as purgatory, adoration of angels, the authority of the church, *&c.* which it is plain he afterwards denied. Very few who ſet themſelves to reform religion, ſee all the abuſes in it at firſt; but moſt commonly add new opinions, conſequent to thoſe they at firſt maintained; and ſo an honeſt hiſtorian[m] ſuppoſes *Wickliff* to have done.

THE heretical opinions charged upon *Wickliff* in the latter part of his life, and after his death, are much more numerous than thoſe he was accuſed of at the beginning of his proſecution.

POPE *Gregory* charged him with 18 errors; *Thomas Arundel* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with 24; the *Council of Conſtance* with 45; *Thomas Waldenſis* computeth 80; *John Luke*, D. D. in *Oxford*, brings up the account to 266; and laſt of all, *John Cocleus* raiſes the number to 303.

BUT whether he denied infant-baptiſm, or not, it is certain he was the firſt reformer of any note, that ſpread thoſe tenets among the *Engliſh* which tend to overthrow the practice of baptizing infants.

Many of Wickliff's followers were Baptiſts.

[l] *Church-Hiſtory*, p. 135.
[m] *Fuller*, p. 131.

ſants. And if he did not purſue the conſequence of his own doctrines ſo far, yet many of his followers did, and were made *Baptiſts* by it.

HE taught, that no rule or ceremony ought to be received in the church, which is not plainly confirmed by the word of God: and therefore ſaid, 'That wiſe men 'leave that as impertinent, which is not 'plainly expreſſed in ſcripture [n].'

NOW, the following of this rule in reformation, muſt needs tend to the caſting out of infant-baptiſm; the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves granting, that there is no direction for ſuch a practice in the word, nor one example of it, as will be hereafter ſhewn.

BISHOP *Burnet* obſerves [o], it was the purſuing this principle, that gave riſe to the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany*; *Luther* having laid it down as a foundation, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Chriſtians; that many building upon this, carried things further than he did, and denied divers things which he held, and amongſt the reſt the baptiſm of infants.

ANOTHER Tenet of *Wickliff*'s was this [p]: 'That thoſe are fools and preſumptuous, 'which affirm ſuch infants not to be 'ſaved, which die without baptiſm, and

[n] *Fuller*, p. 132.
[o] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. p. 110.
[p] *Fuller*, p. 133.

'he

'he denied, that all ſins are aboliſhed in 'baptiſm'.

NOW, it was the opinion that baptiſm waſhed away original ſin, and by a ſecret virtue regenerated the perſon, and that the infant dying without it, was in danger of damnation, that began and eſtabliſhed this practice; therefore this foundation being removed, that practice falls of courſe.

NAY further, it is affirmed to be a doctrine of *Wickliff*'s, [q] 'That baptiſm doth 'not confer, but only ſignify grace, which 'was given before.'

AND in his *Dialogus*, although that was written while he retained divers popiſh errors, he aſſerts, [r] 'That children may 'be ſaved without Baptiſm; and that the 'baptiſm of water profiteth not, without 'the baptiſm of the Spirit.' Which ſhews, that even then he was inclinable to the opinion of the *Baptiſts*; and makes it very probable, that when he afterwards threw off many of the errors mentioned in that book, he did alſo reject the baptiſm of infants, as it is charged upon him by his adverſaries.

AMONGST the followers of this great man, both in *Bohemia* and *England*, we find many *Baptiſts*. The Reformation, which began ſo early in *Bohemia*, and

[q] *Fuller* à *Wald. Art*. 35.
[r] *Trialogus*, lib. iv. chap. 11. à *Baxter*.

ſpread

ſpread ſo quickly through moſt parts of *Germany*, was in a great meaſure owing to our *Wickliff*.

SOME have thought that he fled into thoſe parts to eſcape the rage of the *Engliſh* clergy for ſome time, and then returned again, and ſo had propagated his principles ſecretly there. But the account Mr. *Fox* gives[r] us ſeems the moſt probable; which is, that a certain young gentleman of *Bohemia* happening to be at *Oxford*, upon his returning back to the univerſity of *Prague*, took with him ſeveral of *Wickliff*'s books, and communicated them to Mr. *John Hus*, a publick preacher there; and *Hus*, who was a man of great learning, a fruitful wit, and of extraordinary piety, by reading theſe books imbibed the ſame ſentiments of religion which *Wickliff* had, and openly defended both *Wickliff* and his doctrines; and ſo became the firſt reformer there, and founder of that ſect which were called by ſome *Pyghards*, and by others *Huſſites*.

NOW concerning this people, and their ſentiments of religion, we have a very particular account in a letter written to *Eraſmus* out of *Bohemia*, by *Johannes Slechta Coſtelecius*, dated *October* 10, 1519. which makes the riſe of that ſect to be

[r] *Martyrol.* vol. i. p. 606.

above

above 97 years before that inſurrection at *Munſter*; which ſome would make the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, and many years before *Luther* and *Calvin*.

IN the account he gives of them, he ſays, they mutually ſalute one another by the name of *Brother* and *Siſter*; they own no other authority than the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; they believe or own little or nothing of the ſacraments of the church; ſuch as come over to their ſect, muſt every one be baptized anew in mere water, *&c.* Vide *Preface.*

NOW though the account in this letter agrees almoſt in every thing, with the opinions and practice of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*; yet the advocates of infant-baptiſm would fain perſuade us to the contrary, by ſuggeſting that they did not re-baptize thoſe that embraced their opinion, as judging baptiſm in infancy invalid; but judging all baptiſm received in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome* to be ſo. And in confirmation of this, Dr. *Wall* cites *Ottius*[t], who affirms this to be the Reaſon of it.

BUT when the *Pædobaptiſts* argue after this manner, they don't conſider that they hereby caſt the ſame odium upon the proteſtant religion in general, which they have ſo often endeavoured to fix upon the

[t] *Hiſt. Anabapt. anno* 1521.

Baptiſts

Baptiſts only; *viz.* That they can have no right adminiſtrator of baptiſm amongſt them, and conſequently no true baptiſm. For as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves [x], at the beginning of the Reformation, all had been baptized in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome*. If that baptiſm was nothing, then there was none truly baptized in being. Now it did not ſeem reaſonable, that men who were not baptized themſelves, ſhould go and baptize others; and therefore the firſt heads of the Reformation, not being rightly baptized themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any authority, when they went to baptize others.

IF, on the other hand, they affirm, that the baptiſm received in the church of *Rome* is valid; then theſe people muſt be real *Anabaptiſts*, who baptized every one anew that came over to their ſect.

NOR do we find any that believed infant-baptiſm to be lawful, who upon departing from the church of *Rome*, did look upon the baptiſm they had there received as invalid, and ſo received a new baptiſm upon their becoming Proteſtants. They all abhorred indeed the ſuperſtitious uſe of oil of chriſom; yet ſeeing there was in that baptiſm the element of water applied, the right words of inſtitution uſed, and both theſe adminiſtred, as they thought, to a proper ſubject, they judged it had the eſ-

[x] Vol. II. p. 113.

ſentials

ſentials of a true baptiſm, and accordingly contented themſelves with it.

'TIS therefore moſt reaſonable to conclude, that thoſe perſons were *Baptiſts*, and upon that account baptized thoſe that came over to their ſect, who profeſſed the true faith, and deſired to be baptized into it.

AS for *Ottius*, it is no wonder he aſſerts the contrary. For he writ with a great deal of warmth to expoſe the mad *Anabaptiſts*, who had made ſuch confuſion in *Germany*, and therefore would not allow any ſober and religious people to be of their opinion in any thing. But *Waldenſis*, who lived above an hundred years before *Ottius*, and writ againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*, affirms, that ſome of them maintained this Hereſy, [a] 'That 'believers children were not to be bap-'tized, and that baptiſm was to no pur-'poſe adminiſtred to them.'

BUT to return to *England*: Let us ſee how the doctrines of *Wickliff* prevailed there, and what was taught and practiſed, in the point of baptiſm, by his *Engliſh* diſciples.

AS in *Bohemia* the followers of *Wickliff* went under the name of *Waldenſes*, *Pyghards*, and *Huſſites*; ſo in *England* they were many years called *Lollards*. Wickliff's *followers called* Lollards.

[a] Walden. *Tom.* III. *Tit.* v. *c.* 53. Marſhall, *p.* 65.

UNDER this name were the ſeveral ſtatutes made againſt them; their ſuppoſed hereſies were condemned under the name of *Lollardy*, and the priſon in *London*, to which they were ſent, was called the *Lollards Tower*. Some think they derived this name from *Walter Lollard*, one of the *Waldenſian* preachers in *Germany*, who came into *England* about the year 1315. and propagated ſeveral opinions, agreeing with thoſe afterwards maintained by *Wickliff*. Others ſuppoſe they were ſo called from the *Latin* word *lolium*, which ſignifies *tares*, or hurtful weeds among the corn, and ſo were termed *Lollards*, *quaſi lolia, in ara Domini*.

THE firſt followers of *Wickliff* according to Dr. *Burnet* [b], were generally illiterate and ignorant men, who were led into his opinions, rather by the impreſſions which common ſenſe and plain reaſon made upon them, than by any deep ſpeculations or ſtudy. 'There were, ſays he, 'ſome few *Clerks* joined to them, but 'they formed not themſelves into any body 'or aſſociation, and were ſcattered over 'the kingdom, holding theſe opinions † 'in private, without making any publick 'profeſſion of them. Generally they were 'known by their diſparaging the ſuperſtitious *Clergy*, whoſe corruptions were then ſo

† *Againſt worſhipping ſaints and images, and the corporal preſence.*

[b] *Hiſt. Ref. vol.* I. *p.* 23.

no-

'notorious, and their cruelty ſo enraged, 'that no wonder the people were deeply 'prejudiced againſt them.'

IN the 5th year of *Richard* II. (at which time *Wickliff* himſelf was alive) a bill for the ſuppreſſing of hereticks paſſed in the houſe of Lords, and was aſſented to by the King, and publiſhed for an act of Parliament, though the bill was never ſent to the houſe of Commons. By this pretended law, ſays *Burnet*, 'it appears, that *Wick-* 'liff's followers were then very numerous; 'that they had a certain habit, and did 'preach in many places, both in churches, 'church-yards, and markets, without li- 'cence from the ordinary; and did preach 'ſeveral doctrines, both againſt the faith 'and the laws of the land, as had been 'proved before the Archbiſhop of *Canter-* 'bury, the other biſhops, prelates, doctors 'of divinity, and of the civil and canon 'law, and others of the clergy; that they 'would not ſubmit to the admonitions, nor 'cenſures of the church, but by their ſubtil 'ingenious words, did draw the people to 'follow them and defend them by a ſtrong 'hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was 'ordained, that upon the biſhops certifying 'into the chancery the names of ſuch 'preachers and their abettors, the chan- 'cellour ſhould iſſue forth commiſſions to

Rich. II. An. Dom. 1382. *A bill paſſed the Lords, and ſigned by the King, to ſuppreſs hereticks.*

[e] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. I. p. 25.

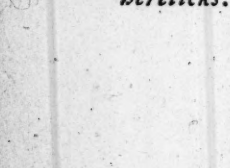
'the ſheriffs, and other the king's mini-
'ſters, to hold them in arreſt and ſtrong
'priſon, till they ſhould juſtify them
'according to the law and reaſon of holy
'church.'

Diſowned and condemned by the commons.

THE *popiſh* party made uſe of this pious fraud; and though the next parliament diſowned and condemned that pretended law, yet they found means to get this new act ſuppreſſed, and went on to proſecute the *Lollards* with all the fierceneſs and ſeverity the former law would permit; and ſeveral of their moſt noted preachers were apprehended, impriſoned and harraſſed, by vexatious ſuits in the eccleſiaſtical courts, for as yet there was no law that reached to life.

Henry IV. An. Dom. 1400. *A law made for burning hereticks.*

BUT when the crown was uſurped by *Henry* IV. in gratitude to the *clergy*, who aſſiſted him in coming to it, he granted them a law, to their hearts content, for the burning of *hereticks*; which paſſed both houſes in the ſecond year of his reign. And to the *eternal infamy of the* romiſh *clergy*, who procured this bloody law, upon the authority of which ſo much cruelty was afterwards acted, it was entred in the rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos* [d].



Will. Sawtre *burnt.*

THE firſt who was put to this cruel death in *England*, merely for religion, was *William Sawtre*, who was burnt in *Lon-*

[d] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 773.

don,

don, *An. Dom.* 1400. He had been ſometime miniſter of the pariſh of St. *Margaret*, in the town of *Lynn*; but having entertained the opinions of the *Lollards*, was firſt convicted of hereſy by the biſhop of *Norwich*, and afterwards brought to make a publick recantation of the ſame, and ſo eſcaped for that time: but coming to *London*, and retaining ſtill a zeal for the true religion, he petitioned the parliament that he might be heard in ſome matters relating to religion, which he believed would be for the benefit of the whole kingdom.

THE *clergy* ſuſpecting his deſign, which muſt have been to get the eſtabliſhed religion reformed, or a toleration for ſuch as diſſented, got the matter to be referred wholly to them in convocation; who ſoon condemned him as an obſtinate heretick, and procured a decree from the king for his burning.

[e] THIS *Proto-Martyr* of the *Engliſh* nation is thought by ſome to have been a *Baptiſt*; becauſe the *Lollards*, who lived in the dioceſe of *Norwich*, where this man firſt received and profeſſed his notions, were generally of that opinion [f]: and Mr. *Fox*, in relating the errors of which he was accuſed by the *Papiſts*, uſes the ſame partiality that he had done before in *Wickliff*'s caſe; for of the ten errors of which

[e] *Hook*'s *Apology*, *Preface*.
[f] *Martyrol.* vol. I. p. 673.

he was convicted by the biſhop of *Norwich*, he conceals the two laſt, as may be ſeen in the ſcroll and recantation.

FOX was doubtleſs ſo honeſt an hiſtorian, as not to record any thing he knew to be falſe; yet it is plain, by theſe and ſeveral other inſtances, he endeavoured to conceal many things that would make againſt the religion eſtabliſhed in his time, or that he thought would be a diſparagement to his *martyrs*.

Wickliff's *followers terrified.*

THE cruel and ignominious death of this good man ſtruck a great terror into the reſt of *Wickliff*'s followers, and made them more cautious how they divulged their opinions for the future; yet ſuch was the craft and diligence of the *clergy*, that they found out means to diſcover many of them, and by virtue of the ſtatute *ex officio*, which they had now obtained, perſecuted them with great cruelty, ſo that the priſons were full of them, many were forced to abjure, and thoſe that refuſed were uſed without mercy g.

AND as this perſecution began in the dioceſe of *Norwich*, ſo it was carried on with the greateſt heat and violence.

MR. FOX gives an account of an hundred and twenty, who were hereupon accuſed, and committed to priſon for *Lollardy* in about three years time; that is,

g *Fuller*, p. 164.

from

from the year 1428, to 1431 [h]. Of theſe, ſome through fear either denied or abjured their opinions; others ſuffered cruel penance, and others were burnt alive: as Father *Abraham*, *William White*, *John Wadden*, and others. *Three* Lollards *burnt*

As to the opinions that were held by theſe *Lollards*, or diſciples of *Wickliff*, in *England*, 'tis agreed by all, that they denied the pope's ſupremacy, the worſhipping of images, praying for the dead, and the like popiſh doctrines. Whether they rejected the baptiſm of infants or not, has been doubted by ſome; but that they generally did ſo, is more than probable, from what is left upon record concerning them.

FOR the better diſcovering who were *Lollards*, there were certain articles drawn up, upon which the *Inquiſitors* were to examine thoſe who were ſuſpected, and if they ſaw need, oblige them to abjure. Among theſe the 12th article was, [i] 'That 'the infant, though he die unbaptized, ſhall 'be ſaved.'

WALDENSIS, who wrote againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*, about the year 1410. affirms, That *Wickliff*'s followers in *Scotland*, and ſome in the biſhop of *Norwich*'s dioceſe did hold [k], That the children

[h] *Fuller*, vol. I. p. 867, &c.
[i] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 687.
[k] *Marſhal def. Inf. Bapt.* p. 65.

of believers are not to be ſacramentally baptized; and that they judged it unprofitable to give children eccleſiaſtical baptiſm, [l] ſaying they were ſufficiently clean and holy, becauſe they were born of holy and chriſtian parents.

THE *Dutch* martyrology gives an account of Sir *L. Clifford*, who had formerly been a *Lollard*, but had departed from their opinions, who informed the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that the *Lollards* would not baptize their new-born children. And our *Engliſh* martyrologiſt tells us, [m] That the *Lollards* were accuſed of holding theſe errors concerning baptiſm, *viz.* 'That the ſacrament of baptiſm, uſed 'in the church by water, is but a light 'matter, and of ſmall effect; that chriſtian 'people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood 'of Chriſt, and need no water; and that 'infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their 'parents be baptized before them.'

FOX indeed endeavours to excuſe them in theſe things; and ſuppoſes they were only ſlanders caſt upon them by their perſecutors.

IT is certain they did not deny water-baptiſm itſelf, as theſe accuſations ſuppoſe; but becauſe they denied that baptiſm waſhed away ſin, and conferred grace, they

[l] *Baptiſts Anſwer to Wills*, p. 7.
[m] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 868.

charge

charge them with ſaying, that it was a light matter, and of ſmall effect: Becauſe they held, it was the blood of Chriſt that ſaved us, and not water, they accuſe them of this error, that chriſtian people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood of Chriſt, and need no water; and becauſe they rejected the baptizing of infants, as a needleſs ceremony, they condemn them as ſuch that affirmed, that infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their parents were baptized before them.

THE perſecution of the *Lollards* rather encreaſing their number than diminiſhing them, I ſhall not take notice of the particular ſufferers in ſucceſſion; but proceed to the reign of *Henry* VIII. where I find their principles about baptiſm more fairly ſtated. Hen. VIII An. Dom. 1511.

BISHOP BURNET ſays[n], 'That in the 'reign of K. *Henry* VIII. on the 2d day of '*May*, in the year 1511, ſix men and 'four women, moſt of them being of '*Tenderden*, appeared before Archbiſhop '*Warham*, in his manour of *Knoll*, and 'abjured the following errors:

'1. THAT in the ſacrament of the altar is not the body of Chriſt, but material bread: 2. That the ſacraments of baptiſm and confirmation are not neceſſa-

[n] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. I. p. 27.

'ry,

'ry, nor profitable for mens ſouls: 3. That 'confeſſion of ſins ought not to be made 'to a prieſt: 4. That there is no more 'power given by God to a prieſt than to 'a layman: 5. That the ſolemnization of 'matrimony is not profitable nor neceſſa-'ry, for the well of a man's ſoul: 6. 'That the ſacrament of extreme unction is 'not profitable nor neceſſary for a man's 'ſoul: 7. That pilgrimages to holy and 'devout places be not profitable, neither 'meritorious for man's ſoul: 8. That 'images of ſaints be not to be worſhipped: '9. That a man ſhould pray to no ſaint, 'but only to God: 10. That holy 'water, and holy bread, be not the better 'after the benediction made by the prieſt, 'than before. And as they abjured theſe 'opinions, ſo they were made to ſwear, 'that they would diſcover all whom they 'knew to hold theſe errors, or who were 'ſuſpected of them, or that did keep any 'private conventicles; or were fautors, or 'comforters of them that publiſhed ſuch 'doctrines. Two other men of *Tenderden* 'did that day in the afternoon abjure moſt 'of theſe opinions. The court ſat again 'the fifth of *May*, and the archbiſhop 'enjoined them penance, to wear the 'badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes 'during their lives, or till they were diſ-'penſed with for it; and that in the pro-'ceſſion, both at the cathedral of *Canter-*

'*bury*,

'*bury*, and at their own pariſh-churches, 'they ſhould carry a faggot on their ſhoulders, which was looked on as a publick 'confeſſion that they deſerved burning. 'The ſame day another of *Tenderden* abjured the ſame doctrines. On the 15th 'of *May* the court ſat at *Lambeth*, where 'four men and one woman abjured. On 'the 19th, four men more abjured. On 'the 3d of *June*, a man and a woman 'abjured; another woman the 26th of '*July*; another man the 29th of *July*; 'two women on the 2d of *Auguſt*; a 'man on the 3d, and a woman on the '8th of *Auguſt*; three men on the 16th 'of *Auguſt*; and three men and a woman 'on the 3d of *September*. In theſe abjurations, ſome were put to abjure 'more, ſome fewer of the former doctrines: and in ſome of their abjurations, 'two articles more were added. Firſt, 'that the images of the crucifix of our 'lady and other ſaints, ought not to be 'worſhipped, becauſe they were made 'with mens hands, and were but ſtocks 'and ſtones. Second, that money and 'labours ſpent in pilgrimages were all in 'vain. All theſe perſons (whether they were 'unjuſtly accuſed, or were overcome with 'fear, or had but crude conceptions of 'thoſe opinions, and ſo eaſily frighted 'out of them) abjured, and performed the 'penance that was enjoined them. O-

'thers

'thers met with harder meaſure; for on 'the 29th of *April*, in the ſame year 1511. 'one *William Carder* of *Tenderden*, being 'indicted on the former articles, he de-'nied them all but one: *That he had 'ſaid, it was enough to pray to Almighty 'God alone, and therefore we needed not to 'pray to ſaints for any mediation*; upon 'which witneſſes were brought againſt 'him, who were all ſuch as were then 'priſoners, but intended to abjure, and 'were now made uſe of to convict o-'thers. They ſwore, that he had taught 'them theſe opinions. When their de-'poſitions were publiſhed, he ſaid he did 'repent, if he had ſaid any thing againſt the 'faith, and the ſacraments, but he did 'not remember that he had ſaid any ſuch 'thing. Sentence was given upon him 'as an obſtinate heretick, and he was 'delivered up to the ſecular power. On 'the ſame day a woman, *Agnes Grevil*, 'was indicted upon the ſame articles. 'She pleaded *not guilty*; but by a ſtrange 'kind of proceeding, her huſband and 'her two ſons were brought in witneſſes 'againſt her. Her huſband depoſed, that 'in the end of the reign of K. *Edw.* IV. 'one *John Ive* had perſuaded her into 'theſe opinions, in which ſhe had per-'ſiſted ever ſince. Her ſons alſo depoſed, 'that ſhe had been ſtill infuſing theſe 'doctrines into them. One *Robert Har-*

'*riſon*

'riſon was alſo indicted, and pleading 'not guilty, witneſſes did prove the ar- 'ticles againſt him; and on the 2d of 'May, ſentence was given againſt theſe 'two, as obſtinate hereticks; and the ſame 'day the archbiſhop ſigned the writs for 'certifying theſe ſentences into the chancery, 'which conclude in theſe words: *Our 'holy mother the church, having nothing 'further that ſhe can do in this matter, 'we leave the forementioned hereticks, and 'every one of them, to your royal highneſs, 'and to your ſecular council.*

'AND on the 8th of *May*, *John Brown* 'and *Edward Walker*, being alſo indicted of 'hereſy, on the former points, they both 'pleaded *not guilty*; but the witneſſes 'depoſing againſt them, they were judged 'obſtinate hereticks, and the former a 'relapſe, for he had abjured before cardi- 'nal *Morton*, and on the 19th of *May* 'ſentence was given. When or how the 'ſentences were executed, I cannot find: 'ſure I am, there are no pardons upon 'record for any of them; and it was the 'courſe of the law, either to ſend a pardon, 'or iſſue out the writ for burning them. '*Fox* mentions none of theſe proceedings; 'only he tells, that *John Brown* was ta- 'ken for ſome words ſaid in diſcourſe 'with a prieſt, about the ſaying of maſſes 'for redeeming of ſouls out of purgatory; 'upon which he was committed for ſuſ-

'picion

'picion of hereſy. But *Fox* ſeems to have 'been miſinformed about the time of his 'burning, which he ſays was *An. Dom.* '1517; for they would not have kept a 'condemn'd heretick ſix years out of the fire. 'I never find them guilty of any ſuch cle-'mency.' Thus far Bp. *Burnet*.

IT may very well be ſuppoſed, that moſt of the aforementioned perſons were oppoſers of infant-baptiſm; elſe why were they obliged to abjure the opinion of baptiſm, as being neither neceſſary nor profitable? But if it be ſaid, that theſe ten articles were eſteemed heretical opinions and errors by the church in that day, therefore if they found any perſon guilty of one, they obliged them to abjure the whole; then I ſay, it is evident there were oppoſers of infant-baptiſm at that time, and that the riſe of the *Baptiſts* is not of ſuch late date as ſome would have it.

An. Dom. 1528. *A parliament call'd*

THE king becoming ſenſible of his error, in being wholly ruled by the *Clergy*, call'd his high court of *Parliament* in the year 1528[m]. The *Commons* complained ſharply of their grievances againſt the *Clergy*[n]; eſpecially in ſix things, the third of which was, that ſpiritual men became *farmers* of great granges and farms, to the prejudice of *huſbandmen* and *grangers*[o].

[m] *Baker*'s *Chron.* p. 296.
[n] *Mart. Hiſt. kings of* England, p. 382.
[o] *Hiſt.* Engl. *in* Q. Eliz. p. 1186.

THE

THE fourth was, becauſe many *abbots*, *priors*, and other ſpiritual men, kept tan-houſes, and ſold wool, cloth, and other wares, as temporal merchants.

I mention this, to ſhew that the *clergy* of the church of *Rome* have been employed in mechanick exerciſes; and I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to make it appear that this has been the caſe of thoſe of the other denominations among proteſtants, as well as the *Baptiſts*; though they have all join'd in warm reflections on them on this account, as if they only were chargeable with this practice.

BUT to proceed, though we find not in hiſtory among the *martyrs*, many who are taken notice of as oppoſers of *infant-baptiſm*, the *hiſtorians* themſelves being *Pædobaptiſts*; yet there is ground ſufficient to believe, that many of them were *Baptiſts*.

JAMES BAINHAM, *Knt.* [p] who was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Apr.* 30, 1532. ſeems by what he ſaid upon his examination before the biſhop of *London*, *Dec.* 15, 1531. to have been an oppoſer of infant-baptiſm. An. Dom. 1532.

IN the year 1533. Mr. *John Frith* [q], who was burnt in *Smithfield*, wrote a ſhort tract, which he called *a Declaration of* An. Dom. 1533.

[p] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 298.
[q] *Wall. Hiſt. Bap.* Vol. II. p. 207.

Bap-

Baptiſm. 'Tis publiſhed with his other works, *Lond.* 1573.

Ten Anabaptiſts put to death.

KING *Henry* having renounced the pope, and married *Anne* of *Bulloign*, ſhe being a ſpecial favourer of the goſpel, no great perſecution nor abjuration was in the church of *England* during her time; ſaving, that ten *Anabaptiſts*, which the regiſters of *London* make mention of, were put to death in ſundry places of the realm, *An. Dom.* 1535. Other ten ſaved themſelves by recantation.

An. Dom. 1535.

Note again, that two more, albeit the definite ſentence was read, yet notwithſtanding were pardoned by the king, which was contrary to the pope's law [r].

ABOUT this time was *Thomas Cranmer* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* very buſy in projecting the moſt effectual means for promoting a reformation in doctrine [s]. He moved in Convocation, that they ſhould petition the king for leave to make a tranſlation of the bible; but *Stephen Gardiner*, biſhop of *Winchester*, and all his party oppoſed it, both in Convocation and in ſecret with the king.

IT was ſaid, that all the hereſies and extravagant opinions which were in *Germany*, and from thence brought over into *England*, ſprang from the free uſe of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May*, 1535.

[r] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.

[s] *Burnet's Hiſt. Ref.* vol. I. lib. 3. p. 195.

nine-

nineteen *Hollanders* were accuſed of ſome hereticical opinions, denying Chriſt to be both God and Man, or that he took fleſh and blood of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the ſacraments had any effect upon thoſe that received them. In which opinions fourteen of them remained obſtinate, and were burnt by pairs in ſeveral places. It was pretended, that all theſe drew their damnable errors from the indiſcreet uſe of the Scriptures. Theſe, or however ſome of them, are ſuppoſed to be *Anabaptiſts*, becauſe *Fuller* mentions ſome under that name who ſuffered that year.

Fourteen Hollanders *burnt by pairs in ſeveral places.*

THE proceedings of the convocation, and the articles of religion therein agreed upon, and publiſhed with the king's authority in 1536. ſhew, that the opinion of the *Baptiſts* was then increaſing in *England.*

An. Dom. 1536.

THIS convocation ſat down in *June*, and after ſome affairs relating to the king's divorce were debated, the lower houſe ſent to the upper houſe, a collection of many opinions that were then in the realm. There are ſixty ſeven ſet down, and are the tenets of the old *Lollards*, new *Reformers*, and *Anabaptiſts*; and after much conſultation and debating, certain articles were agreed upon, and publiſhed with the king's authority.

By theſe articles, which are expreſſed at large by *Fuller* and *Burnet*, it may be ſeen what ſort of men the whole body of the *clergy* condemned as hereticks in thoſe days.

But it will be ſufficient here to inſert only thoſe concerning baptiſm.

As touching the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, ſay they, 'We will that all biſhops and preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt of neceſſity believe certainly all thoſe things which have been always by the whole conſent of the church approved, received and uſed, in the ſacrament of baptiſm. That is to ſay,

'I. That the ſacrament of baptiſm was inſtituted and ordained in the New Teſtament by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as a thing neceſſary for the attaining of everlaſting life; according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non poteſt intrare in regnum cælorum.*

'*Item*, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as ſuch as have the uſe of reaſon, that by baptiſm they ſhall have the remiſſion of ſins, and the grace and favour of God; according to the ſaying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, ſalvus erit.*

'*Item*, That the promiſe of grace and everlaſting life, which promiſe is adjoined

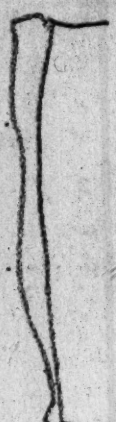
'joined unto the ſacrament of baptiſm, 'pertaineth not only unto ſuch as have 'the uſe of reaſon, but alſo to infants, 'innocents and children; and that they 'ought therefore, and muſt needs be bap-'tized: And that by the ſacrament of 'baptiſm, they do alſo obtain remiſſion of 'their ſins, the grace and favour of God, 'and be made thereby the very ſons and 'children of God; inſomuch as infants 'and children, dying in their infancy, ſhall 'undoubtedly be ſaved thereby, or elſe 'not.

'*Item*, THAT infants muſt needs be 'chriſtened, becauſe they be born in ori-'ginal ſin, which ſin muſt needs be re-'mitted; which cannot be done but by 'the ſacrament of baptiſm, whereby they 'receive the Holy Ghoſt, which exer-'ciſeth his grace and efficacy in them, 'and cleanſeth and purgeth them from 'ſin, by his moſt ſecret virtue and ope-'ration.

'*Item*, THAT children or men once 'baptized, can, nor ought ever to be 'baptized again.

'*Item*, THAT they ought to repute 'and take all the *Anabaptiſts*, and the '*Pelagians* opinions, contrary to the pre-'miſes, and every other man's opinions 'agreeable to the ſaid *Anabaptiſts*, or the '*Pelagians* opinions in this behalf, for de-

'testable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.



'*Item*, THAT men or children having 'the use of reason, willing and desiring to 'be baptized, shall by the virtue of that holy 'sacrament, obtain the grace of the remission 'of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and 'contrite, of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly 'confessing and believing, all the articles 'of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the articles before; or else not. 'And finally, if they shall also have firm 'credence and trust in the promise of God, 'adjoined to the said sacrament; that is 'to say, that in and by this sacrament 'which they shall receive, God the Father 'giveth unto them, for his son Jesus Christ's 'sake, remission of all their sins, and the 'grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they 'be newly regenerated, and made the 'very children of God, according to the 'saying of Christ and his apostle St. *Peter*, *Pœnitentiam agite, & baptizetur 'unusquisque vestrum, in nomine Jesu 'Christi, in remissionem peccatorum, & 'accipietis donum Spiritûs Sancti*; and according also to the saying of St. *Paul*, *ad Titum*. 3. *Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ 'fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regene-*

'*rationis*

'rationis & renovationis Spiritûs Sancti, 'quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum 'Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justifi-'cati illius gratia heredes efficiamur, juxta 'spem vitæ eternæ.'

Dr. WALL would insinuate, that there were no *Baptists* in *England* at this time; but that the King and Convocation, hearing of some in *Germany*, made and published these articles only by way of prevention, lest such opinions should be brought over hither. But is it probable they would have made so much stir about opinions that were not among them? Besides, the preface put to the articles in the King's name, does plainly contradict this insinuation; for therein it is said by the King: 'We being of late, to our great 'regret, credibly advertised of such diver-'sity in opinions, as have grown and 'sprongen in this our realm, as well con-'cerning certain articles necessary to our 'salvation, as also touching certain other 'honest and commendable ceremonies, 'rites, and usages, now a long time used 'and accustomed in our churches, have 'caused our *Bishops*, and other the most 'discreet and best learned men of our *Clergy* 'of this our whole realm, to be assembled in 'our Convocation, for the full debatement 'and quiet determination of the same.'

AFTER these articles of religion were published, Bp. *Burnet* tells us[a]: 'That 'those that desired reformation were glad 'to see so great a step once made, and did 'not doubt but this would make way for 'further changes. They rejoiced to see 'the Scriptures and the antient Creeds 'made the standards of the faith, without 'mentioning tradition, or the decrees of 'the church.'

BUT what little cause the *Baptists* had to rejoice with them, will appear by what follows:

An. Dom. 1538. FOR in *October* 1538. 'There was a 'commission, says *Burnet*[b], sent to *Cran-*'*mer*, *Stokesly*, *Sampson*, and some others, 'to enquire after *Anabaptists*, to proceed 'against them, to restore the penitent, 'to burn their books, and to de-'liver the obstinate to the secular arm; 'but I have not, says the bishop, seen 'what proceedings there were upon this.'

A proclamation issued against Anabaptists. On the 16th of *November*, the King put forth a proclamation, in which he condemns all the books of the *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentarians*, and appoints those to be punished who vented them; and in *December* following he sent a letter to all the *Justices* in *England*, in which, after many other things, they are earnestly pressed to take care, that all the injunctions, laws

[a] *Hist. Ref.* vol. I. lib. iii. p. 218.
[b] *Ib.* vol. III. lib. iii. p. 159.

and

and proclamations, againſt *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptiſts*, be duly executed. Which letter may be ſeen at large in *Burnet*.

An act of grace paſſed. Anabaptiſts *are excepted.*

'IN this year alſo there was an act of grace paſſed; in which, beſides other particular exceptions, all *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentaries* were excepted, and all thoſe that affirmed, there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

MR. FULLER tells us [d], 'That in this 'year a match being made by the lord '*Cromwell*'s contrivance between King '*Henry* and the lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, *Dutch*-'*men* flocked faſter than formerly into '*England*, and ſoon after began to broach 'their ſtrange opinions, being branded with 'the general name of *Anabaptiſts*. Theſe '*Anabaptiſts*, he adds, for the main, are 'but *Donatiſts* new dipt; and this year 'their name firſt appears in our *Engliſh* 'chronicles. I read, ſays he [e], that four *A*-'*nabaptiſts*, three men and one woman, 'all *Dutch*, bare faggots at *Paul*'s croſs; 'and three days after, a man and a woman 'of their *ſect* were burnt in *Smithfield*.'

Two Anabaptiſts *burnt in Smithfield.*

THIS, Mr. *Fuller* calls [f] the beginning of the *Anabaptiſts* in *England*; but he is

Fuller's *account confuted.*

[d] *Hiſtory of Reformat.* vol. III. lib. iii. col. N°. 63.
[e] *Church Hiſt.* lib. iv. p. 229.
[f] *Stow's chron.* p. 576.
[g] *Index, letter A.*

very much mistaken in his account both as to their beginning, and the first appearance of their name in the *English* chronicle, as is plain from what has been said before; but however an epitome thereof may not be improper in this place.

[g] IN the articles of religion, set forth by the King and Convocation, *Anno Dom.* 1536. the sect of the *Anabaptists* are mention'd and condemn'd; and their opinion, that infants are not to be baptized, is particularly oppos'd and censured as a detestable heresy.

[h] THE registers of *London* mention certain *Dutchmen* counted for *Anabaptists*, ten whereof were put to death *Anno Dom.* 1535. other ten repented and were saved.

[i] Bp. BURNET says, That in *May* 1535. nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some heretical opinions; among which this, denying, 'That the sacraments had any effect on those that received them: Fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places.'

Now both these were three years before *Fuller* begins his account of the foreign *Anabaptists* that came into *England*. But besides this, we have mentioned instances of much longer standing, as that of *Waldensis*, which saith, that the *Lollards*,

[g] *Fuller*, p. 217.
[h] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.
[i] *Hist. Ref.* vol. I. lib. iii. p. 195.

who

who were *Wickliff*'s followers in *Scotland*, and ſome in the biſhop of *Norwich*'s diocеſe, did hold, that the children of *Believers* are not to be ſacramentally baptized, and that they judged it unprofitable to give children eccleſiaſtical baptiſm; ſaying, that they were ſufficiently clean and holy, becauſe they were born of holy and chriſtian parents. Agreeable to this, is the account which Mr. *Fox* gives of ſome faithful chriſtians, who were burnt at *Norwich* about the year 1428. For he ſays, though he endeavours to excuſe them therein, that they ſay, that infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them; that chriſtian people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood of Chriſt, and need no water; that the ſacrament of baptiſm uſed in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of ſmall effect.

THERE were about 120 of this opinion, three whereof were burnt alive. Theſe were martyrs of the *Anabaptiſts* opinion in *England*, above an hundred years before Mr. *Fuller*'s date of their beginning.

BUT to return to the perſecution of the *Baptiſts*. We find in Mr. *Fox* certain injunctions, given out in the 30th year of the reign of King *Henry* VIII. on the 6th of *Nov. An. Dom.* 1539. the fourth whereof was this: [k] 'That thoſe that be in any

An. Dom. 1539.

[k] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 440.

'errors,

'errors, as *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptists*, 'or any other that sell books having such 'opinions in them, being once known, 'both the books and such persons shall be 'detected, and disclosed immediately unto 'the king's majesty, or one of his privy 'council, to the intent to have it punish-'ed without favour, even with the ex-'tremity of the law.'

By this injunction it appears, that there were some in those days, who were for reforming the Sacrament of the supper from the abuses of the church of *Rome*; that the former were then called *Sacramentarians*, the latter *Anabaptists*.

Thirty one Anabaptists banished and put to death.

IN this year sixteen men and fifteen women were banished, for opposing infant-baptism; who going to *Delf* in *Holland*, were there pursued and prosecuted before the magistrates for *Anabaptists*, and put to death for the same; the men beheaded, and the women drowned. Mr. *Barnes*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno Dom.* 1540. in his speech to the people at the stake, clearing himself from being an *Anabaptist*, of which he was accused, says, 'm Which 'sect (meaning the *Anabaptists*) I detest 'and abhor; and in this place there hath 'been burned some of them, whom I never 'favoured, neither maintained.'

An. Dom. 1540.

l *Dutch martyr.* lib. ii. p. 123.

m *Fox*, p. 610.

GREATLY

GREATLY did the *clergy* oppose one another at this time, even to the disturbance of the peace of the king himself; as appears by his speech to the parliament, *Decemb.* 24, 1545. where recommending love and unity to his subjects, he saith, 'In St. *Paul* saith, 'to the *Corinthians*, in the 13th chapter, '*Charity is gentle, charity is not envious,* 'charity *is not proud*, and so forth, in the 'said chapter. Behold then what love and 'charity is amongst you, when the one 'calleth the other *Heretick* and *Anabaptist*, and he calleth him again *Papist*, *Hypocrite*, and *Pharisee*: Be these tokens 'of charity among you? I see, and hear 'daily, that you of the *clergy* preach one 'against another, teach one contrary to 'another, inveigh one against another, 'without charity, or discretion; some be 'too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, others be 'too busy and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*.' An. Dom. 1545.

THIS part of the King's speech intimates to us, that when the reformation began under his reign, there were many of his subjects went under the name of *Anabaptists*.

YET after all, the *popish clergy* prevailed with the King, and obtained a proclamation for the suppressing and abolishing of such *English* books as might help to explain the Scripture; such as the books of An. Dom. 1547. *A proclamation against the books of* Wickliff, Frith, *&c.*

[a] *Fox*, vol II. p. 571.

Wick-

Wickliff, Frith, Tindal, Barnes, &c. but within four months after this proclamation was iſſued out, the king died, and providence thereby diſappointed them, by bringing his ſon *Edward* VI. to the throne; who reſtored the holy Scriptures in the mother tongue, aboliſhed the maſſe, and received home ſuch as were baniſhed.

Edw. VI.

HE was but nine years of age; yet proved a moſt happy patron to the goſpel.

Carolus's *requeſt denied by the King.*

o CAROLUS, the Emperor made requeſt to him and his council, to permit lady *Mary* to have *Maſs* in her houſe, without prejudice of the law. Whereunto the King being required by the council to give his conſent, would in no caſe yield to it, notwithſtanding they laid before him what danger might enſue to him by breach of amity with the Emperor. And they being more urgent upon him, the king ſeeing their importunate ſuit, in the end his tender heart burſting out into bitter weeping and ſobbing, deſired them to be content: and ſo refuſed to yield unto the Emperor's requeſt in that behalf.

IN the ſecond year of his reign, the new Liturgy, firſt agreed upon by the *Clergy*, was confirmed by parliament; wherein p Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, they give the following direction about baptiſm.

o *Fox*, vol. II. p. 653.

p *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 77.

IN

Baptism according to the new liturgy.

'IN baptism, says he, there was, besides 'the forms which we still retain, a cross 'at first made on the child's forehead and 'breast with an adjuration of the devil 'to go out of him, and come at him no 'more. Then the priest was to take the 'child by the right hand, and to place 'him within the font. There he was to 'be dipt thrice; once on the right side, 'once on the left, and once on the breast, 'which was to be discreetly done. But 'if the child were weak, it was sufficient 'to sprinkle water on his face. Then was 'the priest to put a white vestment or 'chrisome on him, for a token of inno-'cence, and to anoint him on the head, 'with a prayer for the unction of the holy 'Ghost.'

[q] IN his reflections upon this part of the book, when he is pleading for the first reformers continuing the use of the cross in baptism, he tells us, they did not use it, as thinking there was that virtue followed the use of it which the *Papists* thought: 'For in baptism, says he, as 'they [the *Papists*] used the sign of the 'cross, they add an adjuration to the *evil 'spirit not to violate it*, and in the making 'it, said, *Receive the sign of the cross, both 'in thy forehead and in thy heart, and 'take the faith of the heavenly precepts*, '&c.'

[q] *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p 80.

Fox

FOX says, 'during the whole time 'of the six years of this king, much tran-'quility, and as it were a breathing time, 'was granted to the whole church of *Eng-'land*; so that the rage of persecution 'ceasing, and the sword taken out of the 'adversaries hand, there was now no 'danger to the godly, unless it were only 'by wealth and prosperity, which many 'times bringeth more damage, in corrupt-'ing mens minds, than any time of perse-'cution or affliction.

'BRIEFLY, during all this time, 'neither in *Smithfield*, nor any other 'quarter of this realm, any was heard to 'suffer for any matter of religion, either '*Papist* or *Protestant*, either for one opinion 'or the other, except only two; one an '*English* woman, called *Joan* of *Kent*; and 'the other a *Dutchman*, named *George*, who 'died for certain articles, strange and dis-'sonant from the assertion of the church, 'which here I omit to speak of, for causes 'reasonable.'

An. Dom. 1549. THESE two having denied infant-baptism, and being the only persons who suffered for their sentiments in religion in this reign, I shall give that account of them and their sufferings which I find in Bishop *Burnet*[s].

[r] *Acts and Mon.* p. 685. *first Edit.*

[s] *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. part ii. p. 110, *&c.*

AT

'AT this time, says the Bishop, there were many *Anabaptists* in several parts of *England*; they were generally *Germans*, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon *Luther*'s first preaching in *Germany*, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the aids of Grace, were indeed philosophical subtilities, and only pretended to be deduc'd from Scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were, and therefore they rejected them. Amongst these the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were re-baptized. But from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of *Anabaptists*. An. Dom. 1547.

'ON the 12th of *April* there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into *England*, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, and making *proselytes*: So a commission was ordered for the archbishop of *Canterbury*, the bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*

'er, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, and '*Rocheſter*; Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Thomas* '*Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and ſome others, 'three of them being a *quorum*; to examine, 'and ſearch after all *Anabaptiſts*, *Hereticks*, 'or contemners of the Common-prayer. 'They were to endeavour to reclaim them, 'to enjoin them penance, and give them 'abſolution; or, if they were obſtinate, to 'excommunicate and impriſon them, and 'to deliver them over to the ſecular pow-'er, to be further proceeded againſt. Some 'tradeſmen in *London* were brought before 'theſe *commiſſioners* in *May*, and were 'perſuaded to abjure their former opinions. *I ſhall only mention the laſt of them; which was*, that the baptiſm of infants was not profitable.

Joan Bocher, *called* Joan *of* Kent.

'ONE of thoſe who thus abjured, 'was commanded to carry a faggot next '*Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s, where there ſhould 'be a ſermon, ſetting forth his hereſy. 'But there was another of theſe extreme 'obſtinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly cal-'led *Joan* of *Kent*. She denied that Chriſt 'was truly incarnate of the virgin, whoſe 'fleſh being ſinful, he could take none 'of it; but the Word, by the conſent of the 'inward man in the virgin, took fleſh of 'her; theſe were her words. They took 'much pains about her, and had many 'conferences with her; but ſhe was ſo

'ex-

'extravagantly conceited of her own notions, 'that ſhe rejected all they ſaid with ſcorn. 'Whereupon ſhe was adjudged an obſti-'nate heretick, and ſo left to the ſecular 'power. This being returned to the coun-'cil, the good King was moved to ſign 'a warrant for burning her, but could not 'be prevailed on to do it. He thought it a 'piece of cruelty, too like that which 'they had condemned in *Papiſts*, to 'burn any for their conſciences; and in a 'long diſcourſe he had with Sir *John* 'Cheek, he ſeemed much confirmed in 'that opinion.

'CRANMER was imployed to perſuade 'him to ſign the warrant. He argued 'from the law of *Moſes*, by which *blaſ-'phemers* were to be ſtoned. He told the 'King, he made a great difference be-'tween errors in other points of divinity, 'and thoſe which were directly againſt 'the apoſtles *Creed*; that theſe were im-'pieties againſt God, which a prince, as 'being God's deputy, ought to puniſh, as 'the King's deputies were obliged to puniſh 'offences againſt the King's perſon.

'THESE reaſons did rather ſilence than 'ſatisfy the young King; who ſtill thought 'it a hard thing, as in truth it was, to pro-'ceed ſo ſeverely in ſuch caſes; ſo he ſet his 'hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, 'ſaying to *Cranmer*, that if he did wrong 'ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his autho-

'rity, he ſhould anſwer for it to God. 'This ſtruck the archbiſhop with much 'horror, ſo that he was very unwilling 'to have the ſentence executed; and both 'he and *Ridley* took the woman then in 'cuſtody to their houſes, to ſee if they 'could perſuade her: But ſhe continued 'by jeers and other inſolencies to carry 'herſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the 'ſentence was executed on her the 2d of '*May* next year; biſhop *Scorey* preaching 'at her burning. She carried herſelf then 'as ſhe had done in the former parts of 'her proceſs, very undecently, and in the 'end was burnt.'

An. Dom. 1550. 't IN the year 1550. about the end of *December*, the ſame author aſſures us, that after many cavils in the ſtate, an act paſſed for the king's general pardon; wherein the *Anabaptiſts* are excepted. 'Laſt of all, ſays the Biſhop, [that is, of the acts made by this parliament] 'came the king's 'general pardon; out of which thoſe in 'the tower or other priſons, on the account 'of the ſtate, as alſo all *Anabaptiſts*, were 'excepted.'

THIS exception does plainly intimate, that there were at this time ſome of this opinion kept in the *priſons*, tho' they were not charged with any crimes againſt the ſtate, but for the principles of religion; and

t *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 143.

that

that there was ſo much of the *popiſh* ſpirit of perſecution remaining among thoſe *Reformers*, as to exclude *Anabaptiſts* from the benefit of the king's pardon.

IN the ſame year a viſitation was made of the dioceſe of *London*, by *Ridley*, their new biſhop. Among the other articles which he put to the inferior *Clergy*, this was one; 'u Whether any *Anabaptiſts*, or 'others, uſed private conventicles, with 'different opinions and forms from thoſe 'eſtabliſhed;' and with other queſtions about *baptiſm* and marriages. *Burnet* ſays theſe articles are in biſhop *Sparrow*'s collection.

The Common-prayer book reviewed.

'x ABOUT the end of this year, or the 'beginning of the next, there was a review 'made of the Common-prayer book. Several 'things had been continued in it, either 'to draw in ſome of the *Biſhops*, who 'by ſuch yielding might be prevailed on 'to concur in it, or in compliance with 'the people, who were fond of their old 'ſuperſtitions. So now a review of it 'was ſet about.' *Martin Bucer* [whoſe opinion was highly eſteemed both by the king, and *Cranmer* the archbiſhop, and who had a great hand in all the changes that were made in religion in thoſe times in *England*] 'was conſulted in it, and '*Aleſſe* the *Scotch* divine tranſlated it into

x *Hiſt. Ref.* 158.
u *Ib.* p. 155

'*Latin* for his uſe,' [and with it was ſent over into *Germany*] 'upon which *Bucer* 'writ his opinion, which he finiſhed the 'fifth of *January* the year following.'

Bucer's opinion thereon.

IN this he adviſed to a further reformation in many things. 'He wiſhed that 'there was a ſtrict diſcipline to exclude 'ſcandalous livers from the ſacrament.'

'HE wiſhed that the old habits might 'be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſu-'perſtitiouſly, and others contended much 'about them. He did not like the half 'office of communion, or ſecond ſervice to 'be ſaid at the altar, when there was no 'ſacrament. He was offended with the re-'quiring the people to receive at leaſt once 'a year, and would have them preſſed to it 'much more frequently. He diſliked that 'the prieſts generally read prayers with 'no devotion, and in ſuch a voice that the 'people underſtood not what they ſaid. 'He would have the ſacrament de-'livered into the hands, and not put into 'the mouths of the people, *&c.*'

AS to *Baptiſm*, 'He complained that '*Baptiſm* was generally in houſes, which 'being the receiving infants into the 'church, ought to be done more pub-'lickly. The hallowing of the water, the 'chriſme, and the white garment [then 'uſed in baptizing] he cenſured as being 'too ſcenical. He excepted to the exor-'ciſing the devil, and would have it turn-

'ed

'ed to a prayer to God; that authorita-
'tive way of saying *I adjure*, not being
'so decent. He thought the godfathers
'answering in the child's name, not so
'well as to answer in their own, that
'they should take care in these things all
'they could.'

SOME of these things which he excepted to, were corrected afterwards, but others were kept, and are to this day; though the same things are still objected against by most of the *Nonconformists*, and are one great occasion of their dissenting from the established church.

HAVING thus cast out many of those corruptions that were formerly in their worship, and got most of the sees filled with such *Bishops* as were for the Reformation, they set about the purging out those corruptions that were doctrinal; and most of the year following was spent in preparing articles which should contain the doctrines of the church of *England*. These were generally said to be framed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*. They were agreed upon by the *bishops*, and other learned men, in the Convocation held at *London* in the year 1552. and consisted of forty two articles. As there were three articles more than there are at present, so they expresst several things different from what they are now. All that is proper to be taken notice of here is the eighth, which is concerning origi-

nal sin. The *Anabaptists* are particularly meant, as affirming, that it consists in the following of *Adam*; for thus it begins.

'ORIGINAL sin standeth not in the 'following of *Adam*, as the *Pelagians* do 'vainly talk, and at this day is affirmed 'by some *Anabaptists*; but it is the fault 'and corruption of every man, *&c.*'

'TIS probable some of those who opposed infants-baptism in those times, had embraced the opinions of the *Pelagians* about original sin. But the *Pædobaptists* did generally charge them with this opinion, because they held that *infants* dying without actual sin, were not damned; and that they need no baptism to wash away original sin, but were saved without it. However, ten years after, when the articles were again reviewed and corrected in many things, they thought it proper to leave this clause out, and only charged this heresy upon the *Pelagians*. The 28th article concerning Baptism was the same that now it is, except the last clause, which relates to infant-baptism, which they laid down in these words: 'The 'custom of the Church for baptizing young 'children, is both to be commended, and 'by all means to be retained in the 'church.'

IT seems by this, that the first *Reformers* did not found the practice of infants

fants-baptiſm upon ſcripture; but took it only as a commendable cuſtom, that had been uſed in the chriſtian church, and therefore ought to be retained. This new alteration made in the Common-prayer and articles of faith, cauſed the *Papiſts* to ſay, 'x That the Reformation was like to change 'as often as the faſhion did, ſince they 'ſeemed never to be at a point in any thing, 'but new models were thus continually fra-'ming; to which it was anſwered, that it 'was no wonder that the corruptions 'which they had been introducing for 'above a thouſand years were not all diſ-'covered or thrown out at once.'

THE length of time taken up in altering the Common-prayer and articles, obliges me to place the following ſtory ſomewhat out of courſe.

TWO years after the burning of *Joan* of *Kent*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, 'y One *George Van Pare*, a *Dutchman*, being accuſed for 'ſaying, that God the Father was only 'God, and that Chriſt was not very God; 'he was dealt with long to abjure, but 'would not. So on the 6th of *April*, 1551. 'he was condemned in the ſame man-'ner that *Joan* of *Kent* was, and on the '25th of *April* was burnt in *Smithfield*. 'He ſuffered with great conſtancy of 'mind,

Geo. Van Pare *burnt*

An. Dom. 1551.

x *Burnet's Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 190.

y *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 112.

'mind, and kiſſed the ſtake and faggots 'that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* 'I find a *popiſh* writer ſaying, that he 'was a man of moſt wonderful ſtrict life, 'that he uſed not to eat above once in 'two days, and before he did eat would 'lie ſome time in his devotion proſtrate 'on the ground. All this they made uſe 'of to leſſen the credit of thoſe who had 'ſuffered formerly; for it was ſaid, they 'ſaw now, that men of harmleſs lives might 'be put to death for *Hereſy*, by the con-'feſſion of the *Reformers* themſelves: and 'in all the books publiſhed in Q. *Mary*'s 'days, juſtifying her ſeverity againſt the '*Proteſtants*, theſe inſtances were always 'made uſe of. And no part of *Cranmer*'s 'life expoſed him more than this did: 'It was ſaid, he had conſented, both to '*Lambert*'s and *Ann Aſkew*'s death in the 'former reign; who both ſuffered for *o-'pinions* which he himſelf held now, 'and he had now procured the death of 'theſe two perſons; and when he was 'brought to ſuffer himſelf, it was called 'a juſt retaliation on him. One thing 'was certain, that what he did in this 'matter flowed from no cruelty of temper 'in him, no man being farther from that 'black diſpoſition of mind; but it was 'truly the effect of thoſe principles by whch 'he governed himſelf.'

'THEN

THEN *Burnet* goes on to give an account of the moderate *Anabaptists*, and says, 'For the other sort of *Anabaptists*, 'who only denied infants baptism, I find 'no severities used to them, but several 'books were written against them, to 'which they wrote some answers. It 'was said, that Christ allowed little children to be brought to him, and said, *of 'such was the kingdom of heaven*, and 'blessed them. Now if they were capable 'of the kingdom of *heaven*, they must 'be regenerated; for Christ said, none but 'such as *are born of water and of the Spirit* 'could enter into it. St. *Paul* had also 'called the children of believing parents '*holy*, which seemed to relate to such a 'consecration of them as was made in 'baptism; and *baptism* being the seal of '*christians* in the room of *circumcision* 'among the *Jews*, it was thought the one 'was as applicable to the children, as the 'other. And one thing was observed, that 'the whole world in that age, having 'been baptized in their infancy, if that 'baptism was nothing, then there were 'none truly baptized in being; but all 'were in the state of mere nature. Now 'it did not seem reasonable, that men 'who were not baptized themselves, should 'go and baptize others, and therefore the

† *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. p. 112.

'first

'first heads of that *sect* not being rightly 'baptized themselves, seemed not to act 'with any authority when they went to 'baptize others. The practice of the 'church so early begun, and continued 'without dispute so many ages, was at least 'a certain confirmation of a thing which 'had (to speak moderately) so good founda-'tions in scripture for the lawfulness, tho' 'not any peremptory, but only probable 'proofs for the practice of it.'

An. Dom. 1552. THE same author informs us: [a] 'That in 'the year 1552. a proposal was made for 'the correcting the great disorders of '*Clergymen*, which were occasioned by the 'extreme misery and poverty to which 'they were reduced. That some motions 'were made about it in parliament; but 'they took not effect: So one writ a 'book concerning it, which he dedicated 'to the lord *Chancellour*, then the bishop 'of *Ely*. He shewed, that without re-'wards or encouragements, few would 'apply themselves to the pastoral function; 'and that those in it, if they could not 'subsist by it, must turn to other employ-'ments; so that at that time, says he, 'many *Clergymen* were *Carpenters* and '*Taylors*, and some kept *Alehouses*.'

A motion to reform the Clergy.

I mention this, because it is often cast upon the *Dissenters*, and particularly those

[a] *Hist. Ref.* part II. lib. i. p. 202.

called

called *Anabaptists*, that they encourage *Tradesmen* and *Mechanicks*. Now it is plain from their articles, they are for maintaining of *Ministers*, that they may be entirely bent to their sacred office; but if, in case of necessity, they are obliged to follow trades, for the maintenance of themselves and families, it is no more than what the *Clergy*, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, have done, till they could get sufficient allowance by law to free them from it.

BUT to return; these sad instances of persecution practised by the *Protestants* in this king's reign against the *Anabaptists*, are in *Fox*'s *Latin* book of martyrs, but left out in his *English*, out of a tender regard, as is supposed, to the reputation of the *martyrs* in Queen *Mary*'s Days.

[b] THE same is translated by Mr. *Peirce*. It being short, I will oblige the reader therewith, and with Mr. *Peirce*'s remarks upon it.

Peirce's *account and remarks on the burning of* Joan *of* Kent *and* Pare.

'IN king *Edward*'s reign some were put 'to death for heresy. One *Joan Bocher*, 'or *Joan* of *Kent*. Mr. *Strype* tells us, 'her heresy was, That she believed the 'Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly, 'but not that he took flesh of the Virgin. 'Now, says Mr. *Fox*, when the *Protestant* '*Bishops* had resolved to put her to death, 'a friend of Mr. *John Rogers*, the divin-

[b] *Answ. to* Nichols, p. 33.

'nity-

'nity-reader in St. *Paul's* church, came 'to him, earneſtly deſiring him to uſe his 'intereſt with the archbiſhop, that the poor 'woman's life might be ſpared, and other 'means uſed to prevent the ſpreading of 'her opinions, which might be done in 'time: urging too, that though while ſhe 'lived, ſhe infected few with her opi-'nions, yet ſhe might bring many to think 'well of it, by ſuffering death for it. He 'pleaded therefore that it was better ſhe 'ſhould be kept in ſome priſon, without an 'opportunity of propagating her notion a-'mong weak people, and ſo ſhe would 'do no harm to others, and might live to 'repent herſelf. *Rogers* on the other hand 'pleaded, ſhe ought to be put to death. 'Well then, ſays his *Friend*, if you are re-'ſolved to put an end to her life together 'with her opinion, chuſe ſome other kind 'of death, more agreeable to the gentle-'neſs and mercy preſcribed in the goſpel; 'there being no need, that ſuch torment-'ing deaths ſhould be taken up, in imita-'tion of the *Papiſts*. *Rogers* anſwered, that '*Burning Alive* was no cruel death, but 'eaſy enough. His *Friend* then hearing 'theſe words, which expreſſed ſo little re-'gard to poor creatures ſufferings, anſwer-'ed him with great vehemence, and ſtri-'king *Rogers*'s hand, which before he held 'faſt, ſaid to him, *Well, perhaps, it may 'ſo happen, that you yourſelves ſhall have*

'*your*

'*your hands full of this mild burning.*' And ſo it came to paſs; and *Rogers* was the firſt man who was burnt in Queen *Mary*'s time.

'THIS *Rogers*, ſays Mr. *Pierce*, was a '*Nonconformiſt*, and a very excellent man, '(and died nobly in the cauſe of Chriſt; but this *barbarity* of his deſerves to be expoſed: and the rather, becauſe God in his providence ſeems to have ſhewn his great diſpleaſure againſt it. I am apt to think *Rogers*'s friend was no other than *Fox* himſelf. As to the other inſtance, Mr. *Strype* tells us, that in the year 1552, *Sept.* 27. a letter was ſent to the archbiſhop, to examine a *ſect* newly ſprung up in *Kent*. He ſays, it appears not what this *ſect* was; he ſuppoſes they might be the *Family of love*, or *David George*'s *ſect*; but theſe conjectures of his have no good foundation. I am perſuaded this *ſect* was no other than ſome good honeſt *Diſſenters*, who having been grieved to ſee ſo much of *Popery* ſtill retained, attempted a further Reformation themſelves, which would be a very diſpleaſing thing to our *biſhops*, who expect all men ſhould wait their leiſure. Now this I ground upon a Story which Mr. *Fox* immediately ſubjoins to what I juſt now mentioned from him.

'MUCH ſuch another inſtance is reported concerning *Humphry Middleton* (who

'was

'was afterwards burnt in Queen *Mary*'s 'days.) That when he, with ſome others, 'had been kept priſoners in the laſt year 'of King *Edward*, by the archbiſhop, and 'had been dreadfully teazed by him, 'and the reſt in commiſſion with him, 'were now juſt upon being condemned 'in open court, he ſaid unto him, *Well, 'reverend Sir, paſs what ſentence you think 'fit upon us: but that you may not ſay you 'was not fore-warned, I teſtify that your 'own turn will be next.* And accordingly it came to paſs; for a little while after 'King *Edward* died, upon which they 'were ſet at liberty, and the *biſhops* caſt 'in priſon. This *Middleton* was afterwards, 'in Queen *Mary*'s days, burnt at *Canterbury*; ſo that the *commiſſion* which Mr. *Strype* mentions, agrees in time and place 'with this ſtory.' Thus far Mr. *Pierce*.

MR. *Hugh Latimer*, in his Lent-Sermons preach'd before King *Edward* VI. ſays [e],

'THE *Anabaptiſts*, that were burnt here 'in divers towns in *England*, as I heard 'of credible men, I ſaw them not myſelf, 'went to their death even intrepid, as ye 'will ſay, without any fear in the world, 'chearfully.'

IN the ſaid ſermon, he further ſaith,

'I SHOULD have told you here of a 'certain *ſect* of *Hereticks* that ſpeak againſt 'this order and doctrine; they will have no 'magiſtrates, no judges on earth; here I

[e] Pag. 56.

'have

'have to tell you, what I have heard of late, 'by the relation of a credible perſon, and 'worſhipful man, of a town of this realm 'of *England*, that hath above five [hun-'dred] hereticks of this erroneous opi-'nion in it, as he ſaid.

The marginal note in the Edit. in 1607, ſays here he meaneth Anabaptiſts, *this is one of their errors, fol.* 51.

THAT the *Baptiſts* were very numerous at this time, is without controverſy: and no doubt, many of the *Martyrs* in Queen *Mary*'s days were ſuch, though hiſtorians ſeem to be ſilent with reſpect to the opinion of the *Martyrs* about baptiſm; neither can it be imagined, that the *Papiſts* would in the leaſt favour any of that *denomination* which they ſo much deteſted and abhorred: For in the examination of Mr. *Woodman*, before the biſhop of *Winchester*, in the church of St. *Mary Overies*, *Southwark*, the biſhop ſaid, '[d] Hold him a book, if he 'refuſe to ſwear, he is an *Anabaptiſt*, and 'ſhall be excommunicated.'

Q. Mary An. Dom. 1553.

An. Dom. 1555.

AGAIN, in the examination of Mr. *Philpot* before the lords of Queen *Mary*'s council, *Nov.* 6, 1555. *Rich* ſaith unto him, '[e] All *Hereticks* do boaſt of the ſpirit 'of God, and every one would have a 'church by himſelf; as *Joan* of *Kent*, 'and the *Anabaptiſts*.'

ANOTHER inſtance of their hatred and cruelty towards the *Anabaptiſts*, *Spanhe-*

An. Dom. 1556.

[d] *Fox*, p. 1578. *firſt Edit.*
[e] *Ibid.* p. 1407.

mius

mius gives us an account of *David George*, of *Delph* in *Holland*, being driven from his own country by perſecution, fled to the city of *Bazil*, where he lived for ſome time in great reputation, and by his modeſt dreſs, liberal table, honeſt attendance, and prudent converſation, gained the favour both of high and low: He died in the year 1556, and was honourably buried in St. *Laurence* church. Some time after his death, it was diſcovered, that he was an *Anabaptiſt*; upon which his houſe, and thoſe of his followers were ſearched, a certain number of *Divines* and *Lawyers* appointed to examine them, his opinions were condemned by an ordinance, his picture carried about and burnt, and his corps taken up three years after buried, and burnt, *&c.*

David George *burnt three years after his death.*

DURING the life of this bloody Queen, which was but ſhort, two hundred and eighty four perſons were put to moſt cruel kinds of death for religion: but he that wrote the Preface to biſhop *Ridley*'s book *de Cœna Domini*, ſays, That in the two firſt years of the Queen's perſecution, there were above eight hundred perſons put to death for religion: So that Mr. *Fox* has come very ſhort in his account, as biſhop *Burnet* obſerved.

Supposed to be Grindal *afterwards archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Q. Elizabeth. An. Dom. 1558.

WE come now to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; who, upon her acceſſion to the crown, ordered all that were impriſoned

on

on the account of religion to be ſet at liberty. Upon which, 'd one, ſays biſhop 'Burnet, that uſed to talk pleaſantly, told 'her the four *Evangeliſts* continued ſtill 'priſoners, and that the people longed much 'to ſee them at liberty. She anſwered ſhe 'would talk with *themſelves*, and know 'their own mind.'

SIR *Francis Walſingham* wrote a long letter to a *Frenchman*, given him an account of all the ſeverities of the Queen's government, both againſt *Papiſts* and *Puritans*. The ſubſtance of which is, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, 'e That the Queen laid down two 'maxims of ſtate: the one was, *not to force* 'conſciences; the other was, *not to let* 'factious practices go unpuniſhed, becauſe 'they were covered with the pretences of 'conſcience. At firſt ſhe did not revive 'thoſe ſevere laws paſt in her father's time, 'by which the refuſal of the oath of *Supre-* 'macy was made *treaſon*; but left her peo- 'to the freedom of their thoughts, and 'made it only penal to extol a foreign 'juriſdiction. She alſo laid aſide the word 'ſupreme head; and the refuſers of the 'oath were only diſabled from holding 'benefices or charges during their refuſal. 'Upon *Pius* the Vth's excommunicating 'her, though the rebellion in the north

Sir Francis Walſingham's letter.

[d] *Abridgment*, lib. iv. p. 340.
[e] *Ibid.* p. 382.

'was chiefly occaſioned by that, ſhe only 'made a law againſt the bringing over, or 'publiſhing of *Bulls*, and the venting of '*Agnus Dei's*, or ſuch other love-tokens, 'which were ſent from *Rome* on deſign 'to draw the hearts of her people from 'her, which were no eſſential parts of 'that religion; ſo that this could hurt 'none of their conſciences. But after the '20th year of her reign, it appeared that 'the king of *Spain* deſigned to invade 'her dominions, and that the *Prieſts* that 'were ſent over from the *Seminaries* beyond 'ſea, were generally employed to cor-'rupt her *Subjects* in their allegiance; by 'which treaſon was carried in the clouds, 'and infuſed ſecretly in confeſſion. Then 'pecuniary puniſhments were inflicted on 'ſuch as withdrew from the church; and 'in concluſion, ſhe was forced to make 'laws of greater rigour, but did often mi-'tigate the ſeverity of them to all that 'would promiſe to adhere to her in caſe 'of a foreign invaſion. As for the *Pu-'ritans*, as long as they only inveighed 'againſt ſome abuſes, as pluralities, non-'reſidence or the like, it was not their 'zeal againſt thoſe, but their violence, that 'was condemned. When they refuſed to 'comply with ſome *ceremonies*, and queſ-'tioned the ſuperiority of the *biſhops*, and 'declared for a *democracy* in the church, 'they were connived at with great gentle-

'neſs:

'neſs: but it was obſerved, that they 'affected popularity much, and the me-'thods they took to compaſs their ends 'were judged dangerous, and they made 'ſuch uſe of the averſion the nation had 'to *popery*, that it was viſible they were 'in a hazard of running from one ex-'treme to another. They ſet up a new 'model of *church-diſcipline*, which was 'like to prove no leſs dangerous to the 'liberties of private men, than to the ſo-'vereign power of the prince. Yet all 'this was born with, as long as they pro-'ceeded with thoſe expreſſions of duty 'which became *ſubjects*. But afterwards, 'when they reſolved to carry on their 'deſigns, without waiting for the conſent 'of the *magiſtrate*, and entred into com-'binations; when they began to defame 'the government, by ridiculous *paſquils*, 'and boaſted of their number and ſtrength, 'and in ſome places break out into tu-'mults; then it appeared that it was *fac-'tion*, and not *zeal*, that animated them. 'Upon that the Queen found it neceſſary 'to reſtrain them more than ſhe had done 'formerly. Yet ſhe did it with all the '*moderation* that could conſiſt with the 'peace of the church and ſtate. And thus 'from this letter, ſays *Burnet*, an idea 'of this whole reign may be juſtly 'formed.'

THE ſhare the *Baptiſts* had in the ſeverities of this reign, will appear by the following inſtances. Dr. *Wall* ſays, [f] 'About the 16th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, 'a congregation of *Dutch Antipædobaptiſts* 'was diſcovered without *Aldgate* in *London*, whereof twenty ſeven were taken and 'impriſoned. And the next month one 'Dutchman and ten women were condemned.' *Marius de Aſſigny* tells us, [g] That it was at *Eaſter*, *An. Dom.* 1575. which muſt have been the 17th of *Elizabeth*, that four of the former recanted at St. *Paul*'s croſs, the 25th of *May*; and that the reſt were baniſhed.

An. Dom. 1575.

Their abjuration was in theſe words:

An abjuration of ſome Anabaptiſts.

'WHEREAS, we being ſeduced by 'the devil, the ſpirit of error, and 'by falſe teachers, have fallen into theſe 'moſt damnable and deteſtable errors, that 'Chriſt took not fleſh of the ſubſtance 'of the Virgin *Mary*; that the *infants* of 'the faithful ought not to be baptized; 'that a chriſtian man may not be a *magiſtrate*, or bear the ſword and office 'of authority; and that it is not lawful 'for a chriſtian man to take an *oath*: 'Now, by the grace of God, and by the 'aſſiſtance of good and learned *miniſters*

[f] *Hiſt. Bap.* lib. ii. p. 212.
[g] *Myſtery of Anabaptiſm*, p. 368.

'of

'of Chriſt's church, I underſtand the ſame 'to be moſt damnable and deteſtable he-'reſies; and do aſk God, before his church, 'mercy for my ſaid former errors, and 'do forſake, recant, and renounce them; 'and I abjure them from the bottom of 'my heart, proteſting I certainly believe 'the contrary. And further, I confeſs, 'that the whole doctrine, eſtabliſhed and 'publiſhed in the church of *England*, 'and alſo that is received in the *Dutch* 'church in *London*, is found true and 'according to God's word: Whereunto 'in all things I ſubmit myſelf, and will 'be moſt gladly a member of the ſaid '*Dutch* church; from henceforth utterly 'abandoning and forſaking all and every '*anabaptiſtical* error.'

THIS abjuration was taken from theſe *Walloon Anabaptiſts* by Dr. *De Laune*, who was then miniſter of the *Dutch* church in *Auguſtin Friars* in *London*. In the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *An. Dom.* 1575. Mr. *Fuller* ſaith, '[h] Now began the *Ana-'baptiſts* wonderfully to encreaſe in the '*land*; and as we are ſorry that *any 'countrymen* ſhould be ſeduced with that 'opinion, ſo we are glad that the *Eng-'liſh* as yet were free from that infection. 'For on *Eaſter-Day* was diſcloſed a *con-'gregation* of *Dutch Anabaptiſts*, without

[h] *Ch. Hiſt.* cent. xvi. p. 194.

'*Aldgate* in *London*, whereof ſeven and 'twenty were taken and impriſoned, and 'four bearing faggots at *Paul's Croſs*, ſo-'lemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. 'Next month, one *Dutchman* and ten wo-'men were condemned; of whom one '*woman* was converted, to renounce her 'errors; eight were baniſhed the land; '*two* more ſo obſtinate, that command 'was iſſued out for their burning in *Smith-'field*. But to reprieve them from ſo cruel 'a death, a *grave divine* ſent the follow-'ing letter to Queen *Elizabeth*. The let-ter was wrote in *Latin*, I ſhall give only the *Engliſh* tranſlation thereof.

Mr. Fox's *letter to Queen* Elizabeth.

MOST ſerene and happy princeſs, moſt illuſtrious Queen, the honour of our country, and ornament of the age. As nothing hath been further from my thoughts and expectation, than ever to diſturb your moſt excellent majeſty by my troubleſome interruption; ſo it grieves me very much, that I muſt break that ſilence which has hitherto been the reſult of my mind. But ſo it now happens, by I know not what infelicity, that the preſent time obliges me, contrary to my hope and opinion, to that which of all things in the world I leaſt deſired, and tho' hitherto I have been troubleſome to no body, I am now contrary to my inclination, conſtrained to be importunate,

even

even with my princeſs; not in any matter or cauſe of my own, but thro' the calamity brought upon others; and by how much the more ſharp and lamentable that is, by ſo much the more I am ſpurred on to deprecate it. I underſtand there are ſome here in *England*, tho' not *Engliſh*, but come hither from *Holland*, I ſuppoſe both men and women, who having been tried according to law, publickly declared their repentance, are happily reclaimed. Many others are condemned to exile; a right ſentence in my opinion. But I hear there is one or two of theſe, who are appointed to the moſt ſevere of puniſhments, *viz. burning*, except your clemency prevent. Now in this one affair I conceive there are two things to be conſidered; the one is the wickedneſs of their errors, the other, the ſharpneſs of their puniſhment. As to their errors indeed, no man of ſenſe can deny that they are moſt abſurd: And I wonder that ſuch monſtrous opinions could come into the mind of any *Chriſtian*; but ſuch is the ſtate of human weakneſs, if we are left never ſo little a while deſtitute of the divine light, whither is it we do not fall; and we have great reaſon to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not of any *Engliſhman*, that is inclined to this madneſs. As to theſe fanatical *ſects* therefore, it is certain, they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but

in my opinion ought to be ſuppreſſed by proper correction. But to *roaſt alive* the bodies of poor wretches, that offend rather through blindneſs of judgment, than perverſeneſs of will, in *fire* and *flames*, raging with *pitch* and *brimſtone*, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the *Romaniſts*, than the cuſtom of the *Goſpellers*; yea, is evidently of the ſame kind, as if it had flowed from the *Romiſh Prieſts*, from the firſt author of ſuch cruelty, *Innocent* the third. Oh! that none had ever brought ſuch a *Phalarian Bull* into the meek church of Chriſt! I do not ſpeak theſe things, becauſe I am pleaſed with their wickedneſs, or favour the errors of any men; but ſeeing I my ſelf am a man, I muſt therefore favour the life of man; not that he ſhould err, but that he might repent. Nay my pity extends not only to the life of man, but even to the beaſts.

FOR ſo it is perhaps a folly in me; but I ſpeak the truth, that I can hardly paſs by a ſlaughter-houſe where cattle are killing, but my mind ſhrinks back, with a ſecret ſenſe of their pains. And truly, I greatly admire the clemency of God in this, who had ſuch reſpect to the mean brute creatures, formerly prepared for ſacrifices, that they muſt not be committed to the *flames*, before their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence we may gather,

gather, that in inflicting of puniſhments, tho' juſt, we muſt not be over rigorous, but temper the ſharpneſs of rigour with clemency. Wherefore if I may be ſo bold with the majeſty of ſo great a princeſs, I humbly beg of your royal highneſs, for the ſake of Chriſt, who was conſecrated to ſuffer for the lives of many, this favour at my requeſt, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be, and what cannot your authority do in theſe caſes, theſe miſerable wretches may be ſpared; at leaſt that a ſtop may be put to the horrour, by changing their puniſhment into ſome other kind. There are excommunications, and cloſe impriſonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual baniſhment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even ſlavery itſelf. This one thing I moſt earneſtly beg; that the piles and flames in *Smithfield*, ſo long ago extinguiſhed by your happy government, may not now be again revived: That if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that out of your great pity you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will give them grace to turn from their dangerous errors; leſt with the deſtruction of their bodies, their ſouls be in danger of eternal ruin.

AFTER

Confirmed by Fuller.

AFTER this, *Fuller* goes on and ſaith, 'This letter was written by Mr. *John Fox*, 'from whoſe own hand I tranſcribed it; 'very loth that *Smithfield*, formerly con-'ſecrated with *martyrs aſhes*, ſhould now 'be profan'd with *hereticks*; and deſirous 'that the *Papiſts* might enjoy their own '*monopoly* of cruelty, in *burning con-*'*demn'd Perſons.*

'BUT tho' Queen *Elizabeth* conſtantly 'called him her *Father Fox*; yet herein 'ſhe was no *dutiful daughter*, giving him 'a flat denial [k]. Indeed damnable were their 'impieties, and ſhe neceſſitated to this ſe-'verity, who having formerly puniſhed ſome '*traitors*, if now ſparing theſe *blaſphemers*, 'the world would condemn her as being 'more earneſt in aſſerting her own ſafety, 'than God's honour. Hereupon the writ '*De hæretico comburendo*, (which for ſe-'venteen years had hung only up *in ter-*'*rorem*) was now taken down, and put in 'execution, and the two *Anabaptiſts* burnt July 22. 'in *Smithfield*, died in great horror, with 'crying and roaring.'

GREAT were the hardſhips and ſuffer-ings of the *Puritans* (of whom it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that ſome of them were *Baptiſts*, tho' they had not as yet form'd themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties) by

[k] *As to the ſaving of their lives, if after a month's re-prieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their errors*, à *Stow*, ut prius.

the

the cruelty of the *biſhops*, inſtigated by the Queen's hatred of them. 'She had high 'notions of the ſovereign power of princes, 'and of her own abſolute ſupremacy in 'church-affairs; and being of opinion that 'all methods of ſeverity were lawful to 'bring her ſubjects to an outward uniformity, ſhe countenanced all the engines of 'perſecution, as *ſpiritual courts, high commiſſion*[1], *and ſtar-chamber*, and ſtretch'd 'her prerogative to ſupport them beyond 'the laws, and againſt the ſenſe of the nation.'

THAT the *Baptiſts* had no ſmall ſhare in the ſufferings of theſe times, we may gather from the ſupplication of the juſtices of the peace of the county of *Norfolk*, who upon complaint made to them of the cruelty of the biſhop of *Norwich*, with reſpect to the long and illegal impriſonment of ſome of the *Browniſts*, their worſhips were pleaſed to move the biſhop in their favour; with which his lordſhip was ſo diſſatisfied, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment againſt the *juſtices* themſelves, and cauſed them to be ſummoned before the Queen and Council to anſwer for their *miſdemeanours*. Notwithſtanding his lordſhip's citation of them before the council, they writ again to their honours, praying to interpoſe in behalf of the injuries that were offer'd to divers godly miniſters. And

Supplication of the juſtices of Norfolk.

[1] *Neal's Hiſt. Puritans*, p. 602. vol. I.

in

in their ſupplication they ſay, 'We ſerve 'her Majeſty and the country as *magiſtrates* 'and *juſtices* of peace, according to law; 'we reverence the law and law-maker; 'when the law ſpeaks we keep not ſilence; 'when it commandeth we obey; by law we 'proceed againſt all *offenders*[m]; we touch 'none that the law ſpareth, and ſpare none 'that the law toucheth; we allow not of 'Papiſts, of the *Family of Love*, of *Ana-baptiſts* or *Browniſts*: No, we puniſh all 'theſe; and yet we are chriſtned with the 'odious name of *Puritans*, a term com-'pounded of the *hereſies* above-mention'd, 'which we diſclaim.'

Anno 1589. IN the year 1589, Dr. *Some*, a man of great note in thoſe times, writ a treatiſe againſt *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Penry*, and others of the *puritan* ſect; wherein he endeavour'd to ſhew what agreement there was between the opinions of the *Engliſh Anabaptiſts* and theſe men.

Dr. Some's *account of the* Baptiſts. HIS method is firſt to ſhew, what was the opinion of the *Anabaptiſtical Recuſants*, as he terms them; then wherein theſe men did agree with, or differ from them; and then undertakes to confute their ſuppoſed errors.

THE opinions he charges the *Anabaptiſts* with, when they are ſtripp'd of his dreſs, are only to this purpoſe:

[m] *Neal's Hiſt. Purit.* p. 388. v. I.

THAT

THAT the *miniſters* of the goſpel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people:

THAT the civil power has no right to make and impoſe eccleſiaſtical laws:

THAT people ought to have the right of chuſing their own *miniſters*:

THAT the high-commiſſion court was an antichriſtian uſurpation:

THAT thoſe who are qualify'd to preach, ought not to be hinder'd by the civil power:

THAT tho' the Lord's-prayer be a rule and foundation of prayer, yet not to be uſed as a form; and that no forms of prayer ought to be impoſed on the church:

THAT the baptiſm adminiſtred in the church of *Rome* is invalid:

THAT a true conſtitution and diſcipline is eſſential to a true church; and that the worſhip of God in the church of *England* is in many things defective.

HE touches but briefly on their opinion of *baptizing believers* only; and brings up the rear with ſaying, they count it blaſphemy for any man to arrogate to himſelf the title of *Doctor of Divinity*; that is, as he explains it, to be called *Rabbi*, or *lord* and *maſter* of other mens faith.

HE acknowledges, that there were ſeveral *anabaptiſtical conventicles* in *London*, and other places; that ſome of this ſort, as well as the *Papiſts*, had been bred at our univerſities; and tells a ſtory of one *T. L.* who

who at a conventicle in *London*, took upon him to expound the ſcriptures, conceive long prayers on a ſudden, and to excommunicate two perſons, who were formerly of that brotherhood, but had now left them.

Remarks thereon.

IF this be what their *adverſaries* had chiefly to charge them with; what account might we have expected, had they been allowed to publiſh their own *faith*, and to tranſmit their own *hiſtory* down to poſterity? And tho' this *gentleman* ſeems to deal more favourably with this *ſect* than many *others*, yet he uſes the unfair method which I ſuppoſe they thought lawful, in writing againſt *heretick*s; that is, to aſſert they hold ſuch *opinions*, without producing any proof of it, or referring to any of their *works*, leſt they ſhould publiſh them, and people ſhould have opportunity to enquire what they ſay for themſelves.

HE likewiſe diſcovers too much of the ſpirit of *perſecution*, that reigned in theſe times, and endeavours to excite the *civil power* to be more ſevere againſt the *ſectaries*. 'If, ſays he, every particular con-'gregation in *England* might ſet up and 'put down at their pleaſure, *popiſh* and '*anabaptiſtical fancies* would overflow this 'land; the conſequence would be dan-'gerous, *viz.* the diſhonour of God, the 'contempt of her majeſty, the overthrow 'of

'of the church and univerſities, and the 'utter confuſion of this noble kingdom. 'Queen *Elizabeth*, and her honourable 'Councellours do ſee, and will prevent 'this miſchief; it is more than time to 'look unto it.'

WITH ſuch falſe repreſentations as theſe, the *clergy* have been uſed to frighten the *court* into the practice of perſecution.

Q. Elizabeth *baniſhes the* Anabaptiſts.

BUT to cloſe this reign, Queen *Elizabeth* having by her proclamation commanded all *Anabaptiſts* and other *Hereticks* to depart the *land*, whether they were *natives* or *foreigners*, under the penalties of *impriſonment* or loſs of *goods*; all that were of this *opinion* were obliged either to conceal their principles, or fly into ſome other country, where they might enjoy the liberty of their religion.

UPON which many of the *diſſenters* went over to *Holland*: Among whom there were not a few *Baptiſts*, as well *Engliſh* as *Dutch*; ſo that there was now no great number of *Diſſenters* of any denomination, that dared openly to appear.

Queen Elizabeth's *character.*

'Queen *Elizabeth* however, with all her blemiſh-'es, ſays Mr. *Neal*, ſtands upon record, 'as a wiſe and politick princeſs; for deli-'vering the kingdom from the difficul-'ties in which it was involved at her Ac-'ceſſion; for preſerving the proteſtant re-

[h] *Hiſt. Puritans*, p. 602, vol. I.

'formation

'formation againſt the potent attempts of 'the *Pope*, the *Emperor*, and king of '*Spain* abroad, and the Queen of *Scots* 'and her *popiſh* ſubjects at home; and for 'advancing the renown of the *Engliſh Na-* 'tion beyond any of her predeceſſors. 'Her majeſty held the ballance of *Europe*; 'and was in high eſteem with all foreign 'princes, the greateſt part of her reign: 'And tho' her *proteſtant* ſubjects were di- 'vided about church affairs, they all diſ- 'covered a high veneration for her royal 'perſon and government; on which ac- 'count ſhe was the glory of the age in 'which ſhe lived, and will be the ad- 'miration of poſterity.'

CHAP. II.

From the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, *to the end of the reign of King* James I.

King James I. An. Dom. 1602.

KING *James* the firſt next aſcends the throne. 'a He was born of *Ro-* 'man *Catholick* parents; but being taken 'from his mother in his infancy, had been

a *Rapin*, book xviii. p. 159.

'edu-

educated in the proteſtant religion, and always profeſſed it. On the other hand, the religion he had been brought up in, tho' proteſtant, differed a little from the religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, if not in doctrine, at leaſt in diſcipline, and ſome other points of external worſhip, which were conſidered by the two churches as very important. In a word, it was the *preſbyterian* or *puritanical* religion. In fine, this prince had ſhewn on numberleſs occaſions, that he was far from being an enemy to the *Romiſh* religion. All this formed a certian contraſt, which bred an univerſal ſuſpenſe. The *Catholicks* hoped to meet under his government with gentler treatment, and more indulgence, than under *Elizabeth*; nay, they carried their expectation much farther. The *Preſbyterians* flattered themſelves, that *James*, who had been educated in their religion, would promote the reforming of the church of *England* upon the plan of that of *Scotland*; and hoped ſhortly to ſee the downfal of the *eccleſiaſtical hierarchy*. Finally, the *Church-of-England-men* thought to have reaſon to expect that the new king would conform to their religion, ſince it was eſtabliſhed by law. But after all, the hopes of the three *parties* could not but be mixed with fears, ſince the king had not yet declared.

'HE muſt, ſays *Rapin*, at the time 'I am now ſpeaking of, have conceiv-'ed a larger notion than had been hi-'therto formed of the power of an *Engliſh* 'king; ſince when he came to *Newark*, 'he ordered a *cut-purſe* to be hanged, by 'his ſole warrant, and without trial.'

IT cannot be expected I ſhould be very particular with reſpect to the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* during this reign and the former part of the next, becauſe they were involved in all the perſecutions that befel the *Nonconformiſts*, under the general name of *Puritans*: For thoſe who refuſed to conform to the church of *England*, were counted among the *Puritans*. Thoſe who have read the correſpondence that paſſed between our *biſhops* and the foreign *Proteſtant* divines, may obſerve a great deal of good temper and good judgment in their deſires to have had the church reformed from all remains and footſteps of *Popery*, and ſatisfaction given to ſcrupulous and tender conſciences; but the ſtiffneſs of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that fondneſs for pomp and magnificence in worſhip among the generality, hindred the reformation from going any farther.

An. Dom. 1604. CALDERWOOD tells us, that on the 12th of *Jan.* 1604. [k] 'The *Biſhops* were called 'upon by his Majeſty, and were gravely

[k] *Hiſt. of the Reform. Scot.* p. 474.

'de-

'desired to adviſe upon all corruptions in 'doctrine, ceremonies and diſcipline, as 'they will anſwer it to God in conſci- 'ence, or to his majeſty upon their obe- 'dience; that they ſhould return the third 'day. On that day they returned, and 'anſwered, they found all well; and when *The biſhops againſt any alteration in the church.* 'his majeſty with great fervency brought 'inſtances to the contrary, they with great 'earneſtneſs, upon their knees, craved 'that nothing might be altered, leſt *Romiſh* 'recuſants, puniſhed by the ſtatutes for 'their diſobedience, and *Puritans*, puniſh- 'ed by deprivation from callings and livings 'for *Nonconformity*, ſhould ſay, they had 'cauſe to inſult them, as men who had 'travailed to bind them to that, which 'by their own mouths was now confeſſed 'to be erroneous. Thus, by a moſt diſ- 'honourable reſolution, they prefer their 'own fame and reputation to the peace 'of the church; and becauſe they have 'once oppreſſed them, will always do 'ſo, rather than ſeem to own themſelves 'fallible men [c].'

Now what could be expected from ſuch men, who had drawn a weak king over to their intereſt, and who were reſolved to continue in their errors rather than confeſs themſelves fallible? And what *Chriſtian*, or what *Engliſhman*, can, with-

[c] *Hiſt. account of further attempts for reformation*, p. 34.

out the utmoſt concern and reſentment, read the *hiſtories* of thoſe times, and obſerve the cruel uſage, great hardſhips and ſufferings of not a few, but a great multitude; who for their firmneſs in the propagation of a rational religion, their conſtancy in piety, and all chriſtian virtue, and their averſion to all methods of cruelty and uncharitableneſs, have been branded with the names of *Puritans*, *Preſbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. whereby the unthinking multitude have been ſpirited up to hatred againſt all perſons under thoſe denominations, and more particularly to thoſe of the laſt denomination.

WHEN king *James* firſt came into *England*, he not only went over to the church of *England*, but even laboured to force the *Puritans* to conform, to be revenged on them for what the *Preſbyterian* ſynods had made him ſuffer in *Scotland*.

The Puritans *petition for a toleration.*

THE *Puritans* preſented a petition to him, not only for a *toleration*, but alſo to pray him, that ſundry articles of the church of *England*, with which they could not comply, might be reformed.

The biſhops oppoſe it.

THE *Biſhops* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this petition, and entreated the king to leave religion as he found it at his acceſſion to the crown, without any innovation. The king, not to appear at firſt too partial, and to make believe he would not be determined without hearing the arguments on both

both ſides, appointed a conference between the two *parties*, wherein he would be moderator himſelf; and publiſhed a proclamation, commanding both ſides to be quiet, till matters were regulated as he ſhould judge proper. This conference was held at *Hampton-Court*, in the year 1604, and laſted three days. The *Puritans* ſoon ſaw what they were to expect.

A conference held at Hampton-Court.

DR. *Wellwood* ſays[d], 'This conference 'was but a blind to introduce epiſcopacy 'in *Scotland*; all the *Scotch* noblemen then 'at court being deſign'd to be preſent, and 'others, both *noblemen* and *miniſters*, be-'ing called up from *Scotland* by the king's 'letter to aſſiſt at it.'

THE King's conduct was ſo agreeable to the *biſhops* and their friends, that beſides other palpable flatteries, *Whitgift*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, unwilling to miſs ſo fair an opportunity to flatter him, ſaid[e], 'He verily believed the king ſpoke by the 'Spirit of God.'

Whitgift flatters the King.

IN concluſion, both *parties* being preſent, the king ſaid[f], 'For the *biſhops* I 'will anſwer, that it is not their purpoſe 'preſently and out of hand to enforce obe-'dience, but by fatherly admonitions and 'conferences to induce ſuch as are diſaf-

The King yields to the biſhops.

[d] *Notes on* Wilſon, *p.* 665. *Comp. Hiſt. Notes on* Rapin, *p.* 162.
[e] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 162.
[f] *Ibidem*, p. 162.

'fected: But if any be of an oppoſite 'and turbulent Spirit, I will have them 'enforced to a conformity —— I will — 'that a time be limited by the *biſhops* of 'every *dioceſe* to ſuch, and they that will 'not yield, whatſoever they are, let them 'be removed; for we muſt not prefer the 'credit of a few private men to the ge-'neral peace of the church.'

Whitgift dies, and Bancroft *ſucceeds him, a great enemy to the* Puritans.

SOON after this, *Whitgift* died, and was ſucceeded by *Richard Bancroft*, a prelate who never ceaſed to incenſe the king againſt the *Puritans*, and do them all the miſchief he could. Herein he was but too cloſely imitated by the reſt of the *biſhops*, who found a double advantage in deſtroying the *Puritans*. In the firſt *firſt* place, they made their court to the king, who hated them mortally. 2*dly*, They preſerv'd their *hierarchy*, which the *Puritans* were deſirous to overthrow.

THE perſecution which the *Puritans* ſuffer'd whilſt *Bancroft* was at the head of the *clergy*, induced many families to withdraw from the kingdom, to enjoy elſewhere liberty of conſcience, deny'd them at home. A proclamation is now publiſhed by the king, commanding all *Jeſuits* and other *Prieſts*, having orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom: which was ſoon followed by another, enjoining the *Puritans* to conform to the worſhip of the eſtabliſh'd church.

A proclamation baniſhing all jeſuits and prieſts, another, enjoining the Puritans *to conform.*

'THERE

'THERE was not ſeen here, ſays *Rapin*, 'the ſame care to juſtify the king's con- 'duct, with reſpect to this ſort of perſe- 'cution. The king intimated in the firſt, 'that he would have regard to the tender 'conſciences of ſuch *Catholicks* as could 'not comply with the received doctrines of 'the church of *England*; but in this 'there was not the leaſt indulgence for the 'tender conſciences of the *Puritans*. Theſe 'were all a ſet of obſtinate people, who 'deſerved to have no favour ſhewn them.' Rapin's remarks thereupon.

BISHOP *Burnet* obſerves [h], 'that from 'the year 1606. to his dying-day, he con- 'tinued always writing and talking againſt 'popery, but acting for it.'

THE perſecution growing ſtill more violent againſt the *Puritans*, great numbers of them reſolved to go and ſettle in *Virginia*. Accordingly ſome departed for that country: But *Bancroft*, ſeeing many more ready to take the ſame voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the king's expreſs licenſe. The court was apprehenſive this *ſect* would in the end become too numerous and powerful in *America*; and was not ſo well affected to the *Puritans*, as to the *Papiſts*. *The* Puritans *ſettle in* Virginia.

THE *Puritans* were conſider'd as enemies to the king, and to monarchy; but the *Papiſts* as hearty wiſhers, that the king

[g] *Hiſt. of England*, vol. II. p. 163.
[h] *Hiſtory of his own time*, vol. I. p. 12.

might meet with no oppoſition to his will. This was ſufficient to induce the court to countenance the *latter*, and cauſe the *former* to endure continual mortifications.

An. Dom. 1608. Enoch Clapham *writes againſt the ſeveral ſects.*

IN the year 1608, one *Enoch Clapham* writ a ſmall piece * againſt the ſeveral *ſects* of the *Proteſtants* in thoſe times. In which he repreſents, by way of dialogue, the opinions that each ſect held, and ſomewhat of their ſtate and condition at that time. He takes notice of their flying out of their own nation, to plant a church among the people of another language; and that they alledged in their defence, *Elias*'s flying in time of perſecution, and our Saviour's advice to his diſciples, *if they were perſecuted in one city, to fly into another*; and complain of thoſe who remained in *England* for leaving the publick aſſemblies, and running into woods and meadows, and meeting in bye ſtables, barns, and haylofts, for ſervice.

HE diſtinguiſhes the *Anabaptiſts* from *Puritans* and *Browniſts* on the one hand, and from the *Arians* and *Socinians* on the other; and makes all theſe zealous oppoſers of each other.

He gives a particular account of the Anabaptiſts.

THE *Anabaptiſts*, according to his account, held, that repentance and faith muſt precede baptiſm; that the baptiſm both of the church of *England* and of the *Puritans* was invalid, and that the true baptiſm was amongſt them. He ſays further, that they

* *Errors on the right-hand.*

complained

complained againſt the term *Anabaptiſt*, as a name of *reproach* unjuſtly caſt upon them. He alſo takes notice, that ſome of this opinion were *Dutchmen*, who, beſides the denial of *Infant-baptiſm*, held, that it was unlawful to bear arms: That Chriſt did not receive his human nature of the virgin, but brought it down with him from heaven; and agreed with the *Roman Catholicks* in the doctrines of reprobation, free-will, and juſtification. That there were others who went under this denomination that were *Engliſhmen*, to whom he does not ſo directly charge the former opinions, only the denial of their firſt *baptiſm*, and ſeparating both from the eſtabliſh'd *church*, and other *Diſſenters*; and ſays, that they came out from the *Browniſts*, and that there was a congregation of them in *Holland*.

WHEN the *Anabaptiſt* is aſked what religion he is of, he is made to anſwer; *Of the true religion, commonly termed Anabaptiſm, from our baptizing.*

WHEN he is aſked concerning the church or congregation he was joined to in *Holland*; he anſwers, *There be certain* Engliſh *people of us that came out from the* Browniſts.

WHEN the *Arian* ſays, I am of the mind that there is no true baptiſm upon earth; the *Anabaptiſt* replies, *I pray thee, ſon, ſay not ſo; the congregation I am of can, and doth adminiſter true baptiſm.*

WHEN

WHEN an enquirer after Truth offers, upon his proving what he has ſaid, to leave his old religion; the *Anabaptiſt* anſwers; *You may ſay, if God will give thee grace to leave it; for it is a peculiar grace to leave* Sodom *and* Egypt, *ſpiritually ſo called.*

WHEN the ſame perſon offers to join with them, and firmly betake himſelf to their faith; the *Anabaptiſt* replies: *The dew of heaven come upon you; to-morrow I will bring you into our ſacred congregation, that ſo you may come to be informed in the faith, and after that to be purely baptized.*

NOW this account being given by one that writ againſt them, may be the better depended upon. And he aſſures the reader, in his preface to theſe dialogues, that the characters which he gives of each *ſect*, were not without ſundry years experience had of them all.

THE *Diſſenters* that were driven into *Holland* by the ſeverity of the perſecutions in *England*, having their liberty there, ſet up ſeveral churches, which they formed as they thought moſt agreeable to the word of God.

THERE was one church of *Engliſh* exiles at *Leyden*, whereof Mr. *John Robinſon* was paſtor; another at *Amſterdam*, which had Mr. *Ainſworth* for their paſtor; and ſoon after theſe were ſet up, Mr. *Johnſon's* and Mr. *John Smith's* churches, the latter of which went under the name of *Anabaptiſts*;

A church of Engliſh *Baptiſts in* Holland.

baptiſts: ſo that to do juſtice to the *hiſtory*, we muſt now follow them into thoſe parts; but I ſhall confine myſelf to the *Engliſh* only.

Mr. John Smith, their paſtor.

IT was in the beginning of this reign, that the aforeſaid Mr. *John Smith* left *England*. He had been for ſome time a miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church; but diſliking ſeveral things both in her diſcipline and ceremonies, he went over into *Holland*, and joined himſelf to the *Engliſh* church of *Browniſts* at *Amſterdam*, of which Mr. *Ainſworth* was then the miniſter; and ſo greatly was he eſteemed for his piety and learning, that he was accounted *one of the grandees of the ſeparation* i.

Some account of him.

BUT when his ſearch after truth, and reſolution to reform religion according to the primitive conſtitution and practice, had led him to entertain ſome principles different from his brethren, particularly that of baptizing believers only, they ſet themſelves violently to oppoſe him, they caſt him out of the church, repreſenting him as one that had proclaimed open war againſt God's everlaſting covenant, and that would murder the ſouls of babes and ſucklings, by depriving them of the viſible ſeal of ſalvation; they publiſh'd ſeveral books, wherein they endeavoured to expoſe both him and his principles to the world.

The Engliſh exiles there oppoſe him,

i *Pagit's Hereſiography*, p. 62.

MR.

MR. *Ainſworth* wrote two books; the one called *A Defence of Scripture*; the other, *A Cenſure of a Dialogue of the* Anabaptiſts.

MR. *Johnſon*, who ſtiles himſelf paſtor of the antient *Engliſh* church ſojourning at *Amſterdam*, writ a third, entitled *A Chriſtian Plea.*

MR. *Robinſon*, miniſter of the *Engliſh* congregation at *Leyden*, publiſhed a fourth. But his moſt violent *adverſaries* were Mr. *Clifton* and Mr. *Jeſſop*. The one writ an anſwer to one of his books, which was called, *The Chriſtian Plea*; the other, who acknowledges he ſometime walked with them, publiſhed a piece againſt him, entitled, *A Diſcovery of the errors of the* Engliſh *Anabaptiſts*; which he preſented to king *James*; and 'tis eaſy to gueſs with what deſign that was done. In theſe they lay ſeveral accuſations againſt him: As that he ſought to deprive the church of the uſe of the holy Scriptures; that he look'd upon no tranſlation of the Bible to be properly the word of God, the original only being ſo in his opinion; that upon renouncing his *Infant-Baptiſm*, he baptized himſelf, ſuppoſing there was no true adminiſtrator of baptiſm to be found. But they wrote againſt him with ſo much warmth, and appearance of prejudice, that it greatly diſcredits what they ſay[k]. They call him a man of a woolviſh nature, one whom God had ſtruck with

and charge him with baptizing himſelf.

[k] *Wall's baptiſm anatomized*, p. 109. 111.

blind-

blindneſs, a brute beaſt, and the like. But in theſe things they expos'd *themſelves* more than Mr. *Smith*, and brought the whole body of *Diſſenters* under reproach.

I CANNOT forbear obſerving, what improvement a certain *author*, who wrote againſt the Separatiſts quickly after, made of ſuch perſecuting meaſures, tho' he was as great an adverſary to the *Anabaptiſts* as they could be. 'Let us, I beſeech you, ſays he, 'look among the ſeparated congregations, 'and conſider their manifold diviſions, both 'in *judgment* and *practice*; and there we 'cannot but ſee even a babel of confuſion, 'ſeparating each from other, even for ſome 'ſmall differences in judgment, excom-'municating holier and better men than 'themſelves, yea, even ſuch as they can-'not legally tax either with *fornication*, 'covetouſneſs, *idolatry*, *railing*, *drunkenneſs*, 'extortion, or the like; and that only for 'not ſubmitting in every thing to their 'judgments, contrary to the *Apoſtles* di-'rection [m].'

MR. *Smith* writ ſeveral defences of himſelf and his opinions; as his *Character of the Beaſt*, his *Reply to Mr.* Clifton, his *Dialogue of Baptiſm*, &c. none of which have I yet been able to obtain, but by the quotations that his opponents take out of *He defends himſelf.*

[l] *Preface, Anabaptiſts myſtery of iniquity unmasked*, 1623. By I. P.

[m] 1 Cor. v. 11.

them,

them, which were certainly the worſt part, he does not appear to have been a man of ſuch enthuſiaſm and odd opinions, as they would repreſent him.

His adverſaries divide among themſelves.

THE *Browniſts* in thoſe parts fell into diviſions amongſt themſelves a little after; and writ with as much bitterneſs and ſharp reflections againſt one another, as they had done againſt him. And whereas they could only charge him with *miſtaken opinions*, they themſelves were charged with groſs *immoralities*; ſome of which were proved upon oath before the *magiſtrates* at *Amſterdam*: as may be ſeen in Mr. *White's diſcovery of Browniſm* and *Pagit's Hereſiography*.

Are charged with groſs Immoralities.

Mr. Smith's *opinions prevailed much.*

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith's* opinions prevailed greatly, eſpecially that of denying *infant-baptiſm*; and he ſoon had *proſelytes* enough to form a diſtinct church of that perſuaſion, even among the *Engliſh* exiles.

MR. *Johnſon*, the paſtor of the *Engliſh* church, at the ſame place and time, was one of the firſt that writ againſt him. His book was publiſhed in the year 1617. And he, having ſpoken largely in defence of infant-baptiſm, apologizes for his ſo doing in theſe words: 'Of which point, and of ſundry 'objections thereabout, I have treated the 'more largely, conſidering how great the 'error is in the denial thereof, and how great-'ly it ſpreadeth both in theſe parts, and

'of

'of late in our own country, that is 'England.'

MR. *Pagit* ſays[n], 'that Mr. *Smith* and 'his *diſciples* do at once, as it were, ſwal-'low up all the ſeparation beſides.'

A particular enquiry into the charge of baptizing himſelf.

BUT the buſineſs of his baptizing himſelf, and the reaſons of it, if he did ſo, muſt be more particularly enquired into; becauſe the *Pædobaptiſts* make great improvement of it, and would from hence render all the baptizings among the *Engliſh Baptiſts* to be invalid, ſuppoſing them to be his ſucceſſors, and that he was the firſt adminiſtrator of it among them. Upon the revival of their opinion in theſe latter times, Mr. *Thomas Wall* calls[o] him *the beginner of baptiſm by dipping*, and *the captain of this and other errors*: And ſaith[p], 'that when the *Ana-'baptiſts* had framed ſo many devices to 'deny all infants *baptiſm*, they were con-'founded in themſelves, what to do, to 'begin baptizing in their way of bap-'tizing adult perſons only——but one *John 'Smith*——being more deſperately wicked 'than others, baptized himſelf, and then 'he baptized others, and from this man 'the *Engliſh Anabaptiſts* have ſucceſſively 'received their new adminiſtration of bap-'tiſm on men and women only.'

[n] *Hereſiography*, p. 64.
[o] *Plain diſcovery*, p. 44. *and* preface.
[p] *Baptiſm anatomized*, p. 107.

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THE ſame *author* [q] alſo aſſerts, that he heard when he lived in *London*, that one Mr. *Spilſbury* ſhould go to *Holland*, to be baptized of this *Smith*; ſo he brought it into *England*. And, ſays he, 'If you can 'find no better an adminiſtrator, your miniſ-'try will be found to come out of the bot-'tomleſs pit, as *Rome*'s miniſtry did.'

The controverſy about a proper adminiſtrator.

'TIS certain, that when ſome of the *Engliſh Proteſtants* were for reviving the antient practice of *immerſion*, they had ſeveral difficulties thrown in their way about a proper *adminiſtrator*, to begin that method of baptizing.

THOSE who rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, at the beginning of the reformation in *England*, had the ſame objection made againſt them; as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves [r].

'One thing, ſays he, was obſerved, that 'the whole world in that age, having been 'baptized in their *infancy*, if that *baptiſm* 'was nothing, then there was none truly '*baptized* in being, but all were in the 'ſtate of mere nature. Now it did not 'ſeem reaſonable, that men who were not '*baptized* themſelves, ſhould go and bap-'tize others; and therefore the firſt heads 'of that *ſect*, not being rightly *baptized* 'themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any 'authority, when they went to *baptize* 'others.'

[q] *Plain diſcovery*, p. 45.
[r] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. part ii. p. 113.

Im-

IN the like manner did they now argue againſt the reviving of the practice of *immerſion*, which had for ſome time been diſuſed: If *immerſion* be the eſſential form of that ordinance, then there is none truly *baptized*: and can an *unbaptized* perſon be a proper *adminiſtrator*; or can a man be ſuppoſed to give that to another, which he has not firſt received himſelf?

THIS difficulty did not a little perplex them; and they were divided in their opinions how to act in this matter, ſo as not to be guilty of any diſorder or ſelf-contradiction. Some indeed were of opinion, that the firſt *adminiſtrator* ſhould baptize himſelf, and then proceed to the baptizing of others. Others were for ſending to thoſe foreign *Proteſtants* that had uſed *immerſion* for ſome time, that ſo they might receive it from them. And others again thought it neceſſary to *baptiſm*, that the *adminiſtrator* be himſelf baptized, at leaſt in an extraordinary caſe; but that whoever ſaw ſuch a reformation neceſſary, might from the authority of Scripture lawfully begin it.

Did not a little perplex the Engliſh *Baptiſts.*

I do not find any *Engliſhman* among the firſt *reſtorers* of *immerſion* in this latter age accuſed of *baptizing himſelf*, but only the ſaid *John Smith*; and there is ground to queſtion the truth of that alſo.

MR. *Ainſworth*, Mr. *Jeſſop*, and ſome others, do indeed charge him with it;

The charge of Mr. Smith's *baptizing himself consider'd.*

but they writ, as has been already observed, with so much passion and resentment, that it is not unlikely such men might take up a report against him upon slender evidence, and after one had published it, the others might take it from him without any enquiry into the truth of it.

THE defences which he wrote for himself are not to be met with; and in the large quotations that his *adversaries* take out of them, I do not find one passage, wherein he acknowledges himself to have done any such thing, or attempts to justify such a practice; which surely, had there been any such, would not have escaped their notice.

THERE is one passage [s] indeed which Mr. *Clifton* quotes from a treatise of Mr. *Smith*'s, which some would make a proof out of his own mouth that he baptized himself: but being examined, it rather confirms the contrary. He is justifying, to the *Brownists*, his authority to begin a new form of baptizing, from the same principles by which they justified their beginning of new churches. And his words, according to their quotations, are these: 'There is as good warrant for a man 'churching himself; for two men singly 'are no church, jointly they are a church; 'so two men may put baptism on them-

[s] Wall's *Baptism anatomised*, *p.* 111, 112.

'selves.

'ſelves. Again, ſaith Mr. *Smith*, a man 'cannot baptize others into a church, him-'ſelf being out of the church, or being 'no member.'

HERE are two *principles* laid down by Mr. *Smith*, which contradict the account they give of him: That upon the ſuppoſition of the true *baptiſm*'s being loſt for ſome time, through the diſuſe of it, 'tis neceſſary there ſhould be two *perſons* who muſt unite in the revival of it, in order to begin the adminiſtration thereof: And that the firſt *adminiſtrator* be a member of ſome church, who ſhall call and impower him to adminiſter it to the members thereof.

NOW it is reaſonable to conclude, that his practice was conformable to this. And I find mention made of one Mr. *Helwiſſe*, and Mr. *John Morton*, that were of Mr. *Smith*'s opinion, and joined with him in this reformation of baptiſm; and according to the rules he lays down, their method muſt be this: That firſt they formed a church of their *opinion* in the point of *baptiſm*; then the church appoints two of theſe *miniſters* to begin the adminiſtration of it, by baptizing each other; after this one, or both theſe, baptize the reſt of the congregation.

BUT enough of this. If he were guilty of what they charge him with, 'tis no blemiſh on the *Engliſh Baptiſts*; who neither approved of any ſuch method,

nor did they receive their *baptiſm* from him.

The methods taken by the Engliſh *Baptiſts at the revival of immerſion.*

THE two other methods that I mentioned, were indeed both taken by the *Baptiſts*, at their revival of *immerſion* in *England*; as I find it acknowledged and juſtify'd in their writings.

THE former of theſe was, to ſend over to the foreign *Anabaptiſts*, who deſcended from the antient *Waldenſes* in *France* or *Germany*, that ſo one or more receiving *baptiſm* from them, might become proper *adminiſtrators* of it to others. Some thought this the beſt way; and acted accordingly; as appears from Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s account, in the epiſtle of his treatiſe of the *Covenant and Baptiſm*, where he ſays,

Mr. Hutcheſon's *account thereof.*

'WHEN the profeſſors of theſe nations 'had been a long time wearied with the 'yoke of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in 'the worſhip and ſervice of God; it pleaſed the Lord to break theſe yokes, and 'by a very ſtrong impulſe of his Spirit 'upon the hearts of his people, to convince 'them of the neceſſity of reformation. 'Divers pious and very gracious people, 'having often ſought the Lord by faſting 'and prayer, that he would ſhew them 'the pattern of his houſe, the goings-out 'and comings-in thereof, *&c.* reſolved, by 'the grace of God, not to receive or practiſe any piece of poſitive worſhip, which

'had

'had not *precept* or *example* from the 'word of God. *Infant-baptiſm* coming 'of courſe under conſideration, after long 'ſearch and many debates, it was found 'to have no footing in the Scriptures, 'the only rule and ſtandard to try doc-'trines by; but on the contrary a mere 'innovation, yea, the profanation of an 'ordinance of God. And though it was 'purpoſed to be laid aſide, yet what 'fears, tremblings, and temptations did 'attend them, leſt they ſhould be miſ-'taken, conſidering how many learned and 'godly men were of an oppoſite per-'ſuaſion? How gladly would they have 'had the reſt of their brethren gone along 'with them? But when there was no 'hopes, they concluded, that a chriſtian's 'faith muſt not *ſtand in the wiſdom of 'men*; and that *every one muſt give an ac-'count of himſelf to God*; and ſo reſolved to 'practiſe according to their light. The great 'objection was, the want of an *adminiſtra-'tor*; which, as I have heard, ſays he, was 'remov'd, by ſending certain meſſengers to 'Holland, whence they were ſupplied.'

THIS agrees with an account given of the matter in an antient manuſcript, ſaid to be written by Mr. *William Kiffin*, who lived in thoſe times, and was a leader among thoſe of that perſuaſion. *Mr.* William Kiffin's *account thereof.*

THIS relates, that ſeveral ſober and pi-ous perſons belonging to the congregations

of the *diſſenters* about *London*, were convinced that *believers* were the only proper ſubjects of *baptiſm*, and that it ought to be adminiſtred by *immerſion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, in reſemblance of a *burial* and *reſurrection*, according to 2 *Coloſ.* ii. 12. and *Rom.* vi. 4. That they often met together to pray and confer about this matter, and conſult what methods they ſhould take to enjoy this ordinance in its primitive purity: That they could not be ſatisfyed about any *adminiſtrator* in *England* to begin this practice; becauſe tho' ſome in this nation rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, yet they had not, as they knew of, revived the antient cuſtom of *immerſion*: But hearing that ſome in the *Netherlands* practis'd it, they agreed to ſend over one Mr. *Richard Blount*, who underſtood the *Dutch* Language: That he went accordingly, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and Mr. *John Batte* their teacher: That upon his return, he baptized Mr. *Samuel Blacklock*, a miniſter, and theſe two baptized the reſt of their company, whoſe names are in the manuſcript, to the number of fifty three.

So that thoſe who follow'd this *ſcheme* did not derive their *baptiſm* from the aforeſaid Mr. *Smith*, or his congregation at *Amſterdam*, it being an antient congregation of foreign

foreign *Baptiſts* in the *Low Countries* to whom they ſent.

BUT the greateſt number of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, and the more judicious, looked upon all this as needleſs trouble, and what proceeded from the old *Popiſh Doctrine of right to adminiſter ſacraments by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion*, which neither the church of *Rome*, nor the church of *England*, much leſs the modern *Diſſenters*, could prove to be with them. They affirmed [t] therefore, and practiſed accordingly, that after a general corruption of *baptiſm*, an unbaptized perſon might warrantably baptize, and ſo begin a reformation.

Mr. Spilſbury's *opinion about a proper adminiſtrator.*

MR. *Spilsbury*, who was falſly reported to have gone over to *Holland* to receive *baptiſm* from *John Smith*, declares expreſly againſt a man's baptizing himſelf, and judges it to be far from any rule in the goſpel ſo to do; but obſerves, that where there is a beginning, ſome one muſt be firſt. 'And 'becauſe, ſays he [u], ſome make it ſuch an 'error, and ſo, far from any rule or ex-'ample, for a man to baptize others, who 'is himſelf unbaptized, and ſo think there-'by to ſhut up the *ordinance* of God in 'ſuch a ſtrait, that none can come by it 'but thro' the authoity of the *Popedom of* 'Rome; let the reader conſider who baptiz'd 'John the Baptiſt before he baptized others.

[t] *Perſecution for religion judg'd and condemn'd, p.* 41.
[u] *Treatiſe of baptiſm, p.* 63, 65, 66.

'and if no man did, then whether he did 'not baptize others, he himſelf being un-'baptized. We are taught by this what to 'do upon the like occaſions.'

'FURTHER, ſays he, I fear men put 'more than is of right due to it, that ſo 'prefer it above the church, and all other '*ordinances* beſides; for they can aſſume 'and erect a church, take in and caſt out '*members*, elect and ordain *officers*, and 'adminiſter the *ſupper*, and all a-new, 'without any looking after *ſucceſſion*, any 'further than the ſcriptures: But as for '*baptiſm*, they muſt have that ſucceſſively 'from the *Apoſtles*, tho' it comes thro' the 'hands of pope *Joan*. What is the cauſe 'of this, that men can do all from the 'word but only *baptiſm*?'

Now is it probable that this man ſhould go over ſea to find an *adminiſtrator* of *baptiſm*, or receive it from the hands of one who *baptized himſelf*?

Mr. Tombes's defends it.

THE learned Mr. *Tombes* does very excellently defend this laſt method of reſtoring the true *baptiſm*. 'If, ſays he [x], no con-'tinuance of adult *baptiſm* can be proved, 'and *baptiſm* by ſuch perſons is wanting, 'yet I conceive what many *proteſtant wri-'ters* do yield, when they are preſſed by the 'Papiſts to ſhew the calling of the firſt *re-'formers*; that after an univerſal corrup-'tion, the neceſſity of the thing doth juſtify

[x] *Add. to Apo.* p. 10.

'the

'the perſons that reform, tho' wanting an 'ordinary regular calling, will juſtify in 'ſuch a caſe, both the lawfulneſs of the '*miniſter's baptizing*, that hath not been 'rightly baptized himſelf, and the ſuffici-'ency of that *baptiſm* to the perſon ſo bap-'tized. And this very thing, ſays he, that 'in a caſe where a *baptized miniſter* can-'not be had, it is lawful for an unbaptized 'perſon to baptize, and his *baptiſm* is va-'lid, is both the reſolution of *Aquinas*, and 'of *Zanchius*, an eminent proteſtant. *Quæ-'ritur an is poſſit baptizare eos, quos ad 'Chriſtum convertit, ut ipſe ab alio ex illis 'a ſe converſis baptizetur. Ratio eſt, quia 'miniſter eſt verbi, à Chriſto extraordinem 'excitatus, eoque ut talis miniſter poteſt 'cum illius eccleſiolæ conſenſu, ſymmiſtam 'conſtituere, & ab eo, ut baptizetur cu-'rare.* Whereby, ſays Mr. *Tombes*, you 'may perceive that this is no new truth; 'that an unbaptized perſon may in ſome 'caſe baptize another, and he baptize him, 'being baptized of him.'

I WILL only add farther what is ſaid on this head by the honourable *Henry Laurence* Eſq; another learned *Baptiſt*, who has excellently defended the true *baptiſm*, and the manner of reviving it in theſe later times. 'It cannot reaſonably be objected, ſays he [y], 'that he that baptizeth ſhould neceſſarily 'be himſelf a baptized perſon: For tho'

Eſq; Laurence *alſo defends the ſame.*

[y] *Treatiſe of Baptiſm*, p. 407.

'ordi-

'ordinarily it will be ſo, yet it is not neceſ-
'ſary to the ordinance; for not the perſonal
'*baptiſm* of him that adminiſters, but the
'due commiſſion he hath for baptizing, is
'alone conſiderable to make him a true
'*miniſter* of *baptiſm*. And here that ex-
'preſſion holds not, *One cannot give what*
'*he hath not*, as a man cannot teach me,
'that wants knowledge himſelf; becauſe
'no man gives his own *baptiſm*, but con-
'veys, as a publick perſon, that which is
'given us by Chriſt. A *poor man*, that
'hath nothing of his own, may give me
'*gold*, that is, the *money* of another man,
'by virtue of being ſent for that purpoſe.
'So if a man can ſhew his *commiſſion*, the
'writing and ſeal of him that ſent it, it is
'enough here. Elſe what would become
'of the *great baptizer*, *John the Baptiſt*,
'who had a fair commiſſion to baptize, but
'was not himſelf baptized that we read of:
'Or if he ſhould be, which cannot be af-
'firmed; yet the firſt *baptizer*, whoever he
'was, muſt at the time of his firſt *admi-*
'*niſtration* of that *ordinance* be *unbaptized*.'

THO' theſe things were publiſhed at different times, I have put them together, to end this matter at once. It was a point much diſputed for ſome years. The *Bapiſts* were not a little uneaſy about it at firſt; and the *Pædobaptiſts* thought to render all the baptizings among them invalid, for want of a proper *adminiſtrator* to begin their practice:

But

But by the excellent reaſonings of theſe and other learned men, we ſee their beginning was well defended, upon the ſame *principles* on which all other *proteſtants* built their *reformation*.

KING *James*, to ſhew his zeal againſt hereſy, had now an opportunity to exerciſe it upon two of his own ſubjects; who, in the year 1611, were *burnt alive* in *Smithfield* for heretical opinions.

ONE was *Bartholomew Legate*, of the county of *Eſſex*, of whom Mr. *Fuller* gives this character [z]. That he was a man of a bold ſpirit, and fluent tongue, excellently ſkill'd in the ſcriptures, and of an unblameable converſation: But ſhewing his diſlike of the *Nicene* and *Athanaſius*'s creeds, and denying the plurality of perſons in the Godhead, and the divinity of Chriſt, was for theſe errors frequently ſummoned before the *biſhops* in their conſiſtory, and kept priſoner ſome time in *Newgate*. He very boldly defended his opinions, and would not be brought to deſiſt from it, tho' the king himſelf had him often brought before him, and endeavoured to recover him. At length, in an aſſembly of *biſhops* he was condemn'd as a contumacious and incorrigible *heretick*. This was on the 3d of *March*, and on the 18th of the ſame month, about noon, he was brought to *Smithfield*, and there burnt to aſhes before a vaſt number of ſpectators.

Bartholomew Legate *burnt in* Smithfield.

[z] *Book* x. *p.* 63.

THE

Edward Wightman *burnt at* Litchfield.

[a]THE other was one *Edward Wightman*, a *Baptiſt*, of the town of *Burton* upon *Trent*; who on the 14th day of *December* was convicted of divers hereſies before the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and being deliver'd up to the ſecular power, was *burnt* at *Litchfield* the 11th of *April* following.

The hereſies he is charg'd with by his perſecuters.

MANY of the hereſies they charge upon him are ſo fooliſh and inconſiſtent, that it very much diſcredits what they ſay. If he really held ſuch *opinions*, he muſt either be an *ideot* or a *madman*, and ought rather to have had their prayers and aſſiſtance, than be put to ſuch a cruel death [b].

THAT they may be ſure to accuſe him with enough, he is condemn'd for holding the wicked hereſies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, *Manes*, *Manichæus*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptiſts*: And leſt all theſe hard names ſhould not comprehend every error held by him, 'tis added, *and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard-of opinions.* From this general account of his *hereſies*, they proceed to mention fifteen *particulars*. In one they make him ſay, That Chriſt is not the true natural Son of God in reſpect of his Godhead: In another, That he is only man, and a mere

[a] Fuller, *book* x. *p.* 64.

[b] Vid. *Commiſſion and Warrant for his burning, in the Appendix*, N° I.

creature;

creature; and yet, in the next, He took not human fleſh of the ſubſtance of his mother. One while he is repreſented as making himſelf to be Chriſt; at another time ſaying, That God had ordain'd and ſent him to perform his part in the work of the ſalvation of the world, by his teaching; as Chriſt was ordained and ſent to ſave the world, and by his death to deliver it from ſin, and reconcile it to God.

THREE of the articles are ſuch, that I cannot but wonder to find them amongſt thoſe *hereſies* for which a man is *burnt alive* by *Proteſtants*, *viz.* That the baptizing of *infants* is an abominable cuſtom: That the *Lord's-Supper* and *Baptiſm* are not to be celebrated as they are now practiſed in the church of *England*: That *Chriſtianity* is not wholly profeſſed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part.

THE firſt who was put to this cruel death in *England* was *William Sawtre*, ſuppoſed upon very probable grounds to have denied *infant-baptiſm*; and this man, the laſt who was honoured with this kind of martyrdom, was expreſly condemn'd for that *opinion*: ſo that this *ſect* had the honour both of leading the way, and bringing up the rear of all the *martyrs* who were *burnt alive* in *England*, as well as that a great number of thoſe who ſuffer'd this death for their religion in the two hundred years betwixt, were of this *denomination*. *Remark.*

THIS

THIS burning of *hereticks* did much ſtartle the common people. Mr. *Fox*, in his excellent *Martyrology*, had ſo expoſed the *Papiſts* for this kind of *cruelty*, that it was generally diſliked and condemn'd, and thought unaccountable that *Proteſtants* ſhould be guilty of the ſame practice. The barbarity of the puniſhment moved compaſſion towards the ſufferers; and to ſee men with ſo much firmneſs and conſtancy ſeal their opinions with their blood, rather promoted their doctrines, than put a ſtop to them.

KING *James* choſe therefore for the future only to ſeize their eſtates, and waſte away their lives privately in naſty priſons, rather than honour them with ſuch a publick *martyrdom*, which would unavoidably go under the name of perſecution.

An. Dom. 1614. IN the Spring, *Anno* 1614. ſome *Preſbyterian* families reſolved to go and ſettle in *New-England*, to enjoy there that peace they could not find at home. 'The author, ſays *Rapin*[c], I juſt mention'd concerning the Earl of *Northampton*, ſays, 'Theſe *people* were notorious *Schiſmaticks* 'of ſeveral *ſects*, known by the general 'name of *Puritans*. As it was not impoſſible, by the increaſe of *Preſbyterian* 'families, the *Engliſh* plantations might become nurſeries for *Nonconformiſts*, the

Some Diſſenters go to New-England, *and ſettle there, among them ſome* Engliſh Baptiſts.

[c] *Hiſt.* Engl. *vol.* II. *p.* 185.

'court

'court gave orders not to let them depart; 'but afterwards ſuch as deſired to remove 'beyond ſea, being examined, ſome were 'allowed to purſue their voyage, and others 'were detained as ſureties for thoſe that 'went away.'

THAT ſome of theſe were *Baptiſts*, appears from Mr. *Cotton Mather* [d], where I find the firſt ſettlement of the *Engliſh* in this part of *America* was in the year 1620. They were certain pious *Nonconformiſts*, who had left their native country to avoid perſecution, and dwelt for ſome time in *Holland*, being members of the *Engliſh* church at *Leyden*, of which Mr. *John Robinſon* was paſtor; but not liking that country, obtained leave of king *James* to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his majeſty's dominions, and the intereſt of the goſpel. They ſet ſail from *Southampton* in *England*, *Auguſt* 5. 1620. and arrived at *Cape-Cod* about the 9th of *November* following. Among theſe ſome few were *Antipædobaptiſts*. So that *Antipædobaptiſm* is as antient in thoſe parts as *Chriſtianity* itſelf.

LEAVING then *England* at preſent, let us follow theſe *Baptiſts*, and ſee how it fared with them there.

[d] *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* i. *c.* 2.

MR.

Cotton Mather's *account of them.*

MR. *Cotton Mather* says thus[e]: 'Having done with the *Quakers*, let it not be misinterpreted, if into the same chapter we put the inconveniences which the churches of *New-England* have also suffer'd from the *Anabaptists*; albeit they have infinitely more of *Christianity* among them than the *Quakers*, and have indeed been useful defenders of *Christianity* against the assaults of the *Quakers*. Yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our brethren as many of them as are willing to be so acknowledged.—All the world knows, says he, that the most eminent *reformers*, writing against the *Anabaptists*, have not been able to forbear making their treatises like what *Jerom* says of *Tertullian*'s polemical treatises, *Quot verba, tot Fulmina.* And the noble martyr *Philpot* express'd the mind of them all, when he said, The *Anabaptists* are an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel, having neither scripture, nor antiquity, nor any thing else for them, but lies and new imaginations, feigning the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandment. Nevertheless it is well known, that of later time there have been a great many *Antipædobaptists* who have never deserved so hard a character

[e] *Eccl. Hist.* New-Engl. *lib.* vii. *p.* 26.

among

'among the churches of God. *Infant-baptiſm* hath been ſcrupled by *multitudes* 'in our days, who have been in other 'points moſt worthy *Chriſtians*, and as 'holy, watchful, fruitful and heavenly peo-'ple as perhaps any in the world. Some 'few of theſe people have been among the '*planters* in *New-England* from the be-'ginning, and have been welcome to the 'communion of our churches, which they 'have enjoy'd, reſerving their particular 'opinion unto themſelves.

'BUT at length it came to paſs, that 'while ſome of our *churches* uſed it may 'be a little too much of *cogency* towards 'the *brethren*, which would weakly turn 'their backs when *infants* were brought 'forth to be *baptized* in the congregation, 'there were ſome of theſe *brethren* who 'in a day of temptation broke forth into 'ſchiſmatical practices, that were juſtly of-'fenſive unto all the churches in this wil-'derneſs.

'OUR *Anabaptiſts*, when ſomewhat of 'exaſperation was begun, formed a church 'at *Boſton*, on *May* 28. 1665. beſides one 'which they had before at *Swanzey*. Now 'they declared our *infant-baptiſm* to be a 'mere nullity; and they arrogate unto them-'ſelves the title of *Baptiſts*, as if none were 'baptized but themſelves.

'THE General Court, ſays Mr. *Ma-'ther*, were ſo afraid leſt matters might

The Engliſh *Baptiſts are perſecuted there.*

'at laſt, from ſmall beginnings, grow into a new *Munſter* tragedy, that they enacted ſome laws for the reſtraint of *Anabaptiſtical* exorbitances †: Which laws, tho' never executed unto the extremity of them, yet were ſoon laid by, as to any execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy *ſchiſm* ſeveral truly *godly men*, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to proſecute with ſevere *impriſonments*, on theſe controverſies. And there came alſo a letter from *London*, to the governour of the *Maſſachuſet*'s colony, ſubſcribed by no leſs perſons than Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and nine other very reverend miniſters, wherein were theſe among other paſſages.

A letter from the moſt eminent of the London *miniſters thereupon.*

'WE ſhall not here undertake in the leaſt to make any apology for the perſons, opinions, and practices of thoſe who are cenſured amongſt you.—You know our judgment and practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as your's, wherein, God aſſiſting, we ſhall continue to the end: neither ſhall we return any anſwer to the reaſon of the Rev. Elders for the juſtification of your proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the management of any the leaſt difference with perſons whom we ſo much love and honour

† *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* vii. *p.* 27.

'in

'in the Lord.—But the ſum of all which 'at preſent we ſhall offer to you, is, That 'tho' the *court* might apprehend that they 'had grounds in general, warranting their 'proceedure in ſuch caſes, in the way 'wherein they have proceeded; yet that 'they have any rule or command, render-'ing their ſo proceeding indiſpenſably ne-'ceſſary under all circumſtances of fines 'or places, we are altogether unſatisfy'd. 'And we need not repreſent unto you how 'the caſe ſtands with ourſelves, and all 'your *brethren* and *companions* in the ſer-'vices of theſe latter days in theſe nations. 'We are ſure you would be unwilling to 'put an advantage into the hands of ſome 'who ſeek pretences and occaſions againſt 'our liberty, and to reinforce the former 'rigour. Now we cannot deny, but this 'hath already in ſome meaſure been done, 'in that it hath been * vogued, that per-'ſons of our way, principles, and ſpirit, 'cannot bear with diſſenters from them. 'And as this greatly reflects on us, ſo ſome 'of us have obſerved how already it has 'turned unto your own diſadvantage.

* *Sic origine.*

'WE leave it to your wiſdom to deter-'mine, whether under all theſe circum-'ſtances, and ſundry others of the like 'nature that might be added, it be not 'adviſeable at preſent to put an end unto 'the ſufferings and confinements of the 'perſons cenſured, and to reſtore them to

'their former liberty. You have the advantage of truth and order; you have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them; you have the care and vigilancy of a very worthy *magistracy* to countenance and protect them, and to preserve the peace; and above all, you have a blessed Lord and master, *who hath the keys of* David, *who openeth and no man shutteth*, living for ever, to take care of his own concernments among his saints: and assuredly you need not be disquieted, tho' some few *persons*, through their own infirmity and weakness, or through their ignorance, darkness and prejudices, should to their disadvantage turn out of the way in some lesser matters, into by-paths of their own. We only make it our hearty request to you, that you would trust God with his truths and ways, so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings, in corporal restraints or punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practise the principles of their dissent without danger or disturbance to the civil peace of the place.'

Dated March 25. 1669.

'I CANNOT say, says Mr. *Mather*, that this excellent letter had immediately all the effect which it should have had; however at length it has had its effect.'

ONE

ONE *Roger Williams*, a preacher, who arrived in *New-England* about the year 1630. was first an assistant in the church of *Salem*, and afterwards pastor. This man, a difference happening between the government and him, caused a great deal of trouble and vexation. At length the *magistrates* passed the sentence of *banishment* upon him; upon which he removed with a few of his own *sect*, and settled at a place called *Providence*. 'There they proceeded, says Mr. *Mather*, 'not only unto the *gathering* of a thing like a *church*, but unto the *renouncing* their *infant-baptism*.' After this, he says [h], he turned *Seeker* and *Familist*, and the church came to nothing; yet acknowledges, that after all this, 'he 'was very instrumental in obtaining a 'charter for the government of *Rhode-island*, which lay near and with his town 'of *Providence*, and was by the people 'sometimes chosen governour, and in many things acquitted himself so laudably, 'that many judicious persons judged him 'to have had the root of the matter in 'him: That he used many commendable 'endeavours to christianise the *Indians* in his neighbourhood, and printed a relation of their language, tempers, and manners: That he also with much vigour maintain'd the main principles of the *Pro-*

Roger Williams *banished.*

Some account of him.

[g] *Eccl. Hist.* New-Engl. *p.* 7.
[h] *Ibid. p.* 9.

'*teſtant Religion* againſt the *Quakers*, of 'which he has publiſhed a large account 'in a book entitled, *George Fox digged out 'of his burrows*. Mr. *Mather* alſo acknow-'ledges that there was a good correſpon-'dence always held between him and ma-'ny worthy and pious people in the *colo-'ny* from whence he had been baniſhed; 'and that ſome of the *Engliſh nobility* had 'writ letters in his commendation.'

MR. *Baxter* calls this man *the Father of the Seekers in* London [i].

Some Indians *converted.*

SEVERAL of the *Indians* bordering upon the *Engliſh colonies* in *New-England*, were, by the endeavours of ſeveral pious miniſters, brought to receive the Chriſtian faith, and had the bible tranſlated into their language, and ſeveral churches gather'd among them. Mr. *John Gardiner*, in his letter, giving an account of the *Chriſtian Indians* of *Nantucket*, ſays, 'There are 'three ſocieties or churches, two *congrega-'tional*, and one of the *Baptiſts*; but their 'number is ſmall.'

Manu-ſcript penes me.

MR. *Benjamin Keach* was uſed frequently to ſay, 'That when the *Indians* had em-'braced *Chriſtianity*, and got the New 'Teſtament tranſlated into their language, 'they were ſurprized that they found no 'directions there to baptize children, nor 'any inſtance of ſuch a practice, therefore

[i] *Plain Script. pr* 146.

'en-

'enquired of the *English* the ground of that 'practice, whereupon they rejected it as 'an human invention.'

THE *controverſy* about the *baptiſm* of *children*, and the care that was to be taken of them afterwards, grew to ſuch an height[k], that an aſſembly of the principal and moſt able *miniſters* of both *colonies* was called by the *magiſtrates* on *June* 4. 1657. to anſwer the queſtions that were in agitation about theſe matters; who accordingly preſented their elaborate anſwer to twenty one queſtions relating to this affair, which was afterwards printed in *London*, under the title of, *A diſputation concerning church-members, and their children*. But this did not put an end to the controverſy; therefore a ſynod was convened at *Boſton* in the year 1662. in which this was the firſt and chief queſtion to be determined, *Who are the ſubjects of baptiſm?*

The controverſy of infant-baptiſm revived.

An aſſembly of miniſters called.

'THERE have at ſeveral times, ſays 'Mr. *Mather*[l], arrived in this country more 'than a ſcore of *miniſters* from other parts 'of the world, who proved either ſo erroneous in their principles, or ſo ſcandalous in their practices, or ſo diſagreeable to the church-order, for which the country was planted, that I cannot well croud them into the company of our *worthies*. 'I confeſs there were ſome of thoſe per-

[k] Mather's *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* v. *p.* 63.
[l] *Ibid. lib.* iii. *p.* 7.

'sons whose names deserve to live in our 'book for their piety, altho' their particular opinions were such, as to be disserviceable unto the declared and supposed 'interests of our churches. Of these there 'were some godly *Anabaptists*; as namely, 'Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, of *Dover*, who afterwards removing back to *London*, lately died there, a good man in a good old 'age; and Mr. *Miles* of *Swanzey*, who 'afterwards came to *Boston*, and is now 'gone to his rest. Both of these have a respectful character in the churches of this 'wilderness.'

Cotton Mather's character of Hanserd Knollys and Mr. Miles.

HAVING mentioned the several congregational churches at *Boston*, he adds[m]: 'And 'besides these, there is another small congregation of *Antipædobaptists*, wherein Mr. 'Emlin is the settled minister.'

And of a Baptist church in New-Plymouth colony.

IN his account of *New-Plymouth Colony*, he says[n]: 'Moreover there has been among 'them one church that have question'd 'and omitted the use of infant-baptism; 'nevertheless, there being many good men 'among those, that have been of this persuasion, I do not know that they have 'been *persecuted* with any harder means, 'than those of kind conferences to reclaim 'them.'

THE learned Mr. *John Tombes*, being acquainted with a law made in *New-Eng-*

[m] *Lib.* i. *p.* 27.
[n] *Ib. p.* 14.

land,

land, and the proceedings againſt thoſe that deny'd the *baptiſm* of *infants*, was prevailed upon to ſend a copy of his *examen* before it was printed, thither, deſigning thereby to put them upon the ſtudy of this matter more exactly, and to allay the vehemency of their ſpirits and proceedings againſt thoſe that diſſented from them; and therewith he ſent this ſhort epiſtle [o].

Mr. Tombes's epiſtle, with his examen ſent to New-England.

To all the elders of the churches of Chriſt in New-England, *and to each in particular by name: To the paſtor and teacher of the church of God at* Boſton, *there, theſe preſent.*

Reverend Brethren,

'UNderſtanding that there is ſome diſquiet in your churches about *pædobaptiſm*, and being moved by ſome that honour you much in the Lord, and deſire your comfortable account at the day of Chriſt, that I would yield that a copy of my *examen* of maſter *Marſhall* his ſermon of *infant-baptiſm* might be tranſcribed, to be ſent to you; I have conſented thereto, and do commend it to your examination, in like manner, as you may perceive by the reading of it, I did to maſter *Marſhall*. Not doubting but that you

[o] *Apology*, p. 13.

will,

'will, as in God's preſence, and account-
'able to Chriſt Jeſus, weigh the thing;
'remembering that of our Lord Chriſt,
'John vii. 24. *Judge not according to the*
'*appearance, but judge righteous judgment.*
'To the bleſſing of him who is your God
'and our God, your judge and our judge,
'I leave you, and the flock of God over
'which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you
'overſeers, and reſt,

Your brother and fellow-ſervant in the work of Chriſt,

JOHN TOMBES.

From my ſtudy at the *Temple* in *London*, *May* 25th, 1645.

An account of the Baptiſt *churches in* Penſilvania.

THAT the *Baptiſts* have very much increaſed in thoſe parts ſince they have enjoyed tranquillity, I find by a letter from *Philadelphia* in the province of *Penſilvania*, wrote by Mr. *Abel Morgan*, paſtor of a *Baptiſt church* there, giving an account of the ſtate and number of the *Baptized churches* in that *province*, *Aug.* 12, 1714. wherein he ſays, 'We are now *nine* churches, having 'for the better aſſiſting one the other, *four* 'general meetings. *1ſt* At *Welſh Tract*, 'where all the *Penſilvania* churches reſort 'to in *May*. The *2d* is at *Cohanſy*, for con-'veniency of thoſe parts, where *Philadel-*

'*phia*

'*phia* aſſiſts. The 3*d* is at *Middleton*, where 'alſo *Philadelphia* aſſiſts. The 4*th* is at '*Philadelphia*, in the month of *September*, 'where all do reſort, and where moſt of 'the publick matters are ſettled to be deci-'ded by meſſengers from every *particular* 'church.

'IN theſe churches, ſays he, there are 'above five hundred members, but greatly 'ſcattered on this main land; our mini-'ſters are neceſſitated to labour with both 'hands. We hope, if it pleaſe God to ſup-'ply us with more help, we ſhall be more 'churches in a little time. Moſt churches 'adminiſter the ſacrament once a month; 'the miniſters are all ſound in the faith, and 'we practiſe moſt things like the *Britiſh* '*churches*.'

To return to *England*: *Bancroft* was ſucceeded by Dr. *George Abbot*, biſhop of *London*; 'a divine, ſays Mr. *Neale*[c], of 'a quite different ſpirit from his *predeceſſor*: 'He was a ſound *Proteſtant*, a thorough '*Calviniſt*, an avowed enemy to *Popery*, 'and even ſuſpected of *Puritaniſm*, be-'cauſe he relaxed the penal laws; where-'by, ſays lord *Clarendon*, he unravelled all 'that his *predeceſſor* had been doing for 'many years. *Dr. Geo. Abbot, ſome account of him.*

'IF *Abbot*'s moderate meaſures, ſays Mr. '*Neal*, had been purſued, the liberties of '*England* had been ſecured, *Popery* diſ-

[c] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II p. 93.

'coun-

'countenanced, and the church prevented 'from running into thoſe exceſſes which 'afterwards proved its ruin.'

An. Dom. 1615. *Anno* 1615. The more moderate or orthodox *Baptiſts* publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe *, wherein they endeavour'd to juſtify their ſeparation from the church of *England*, and to prove, that every man has a right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion; and that to perſecute any on that account, is illegal and antichriſtian, contrary to the laws of God, as well as to ſeveral declarations of the king's majeſty. They alſo aſſert their opinion concerning *Baptiſm*, and ſhew the invalidity of that *Baptiſm* which was adminiſtred either in the eſtabliſh'd *church*, or among the other *Diſſenters*, and clear themſelves of ſeveral *errors* unjuſtly caſt upon them. It appears to be written, or at leaſt approved of, by the whole body of *Baptiſts* who then remain'd in *England*; becauſe at the end of the preface they ſubſcribe themſelves Chriſt's unworthy *miniſters*, and his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, commonly, but moſt falſly called *Anabaptiſts*.

* *Perſecution judged, and condemned.*

The Baptiſts *account of themſelves.*

FROM hence therefore we may know what was in general the *opinions* of that *denomination*, from themſelves; which is certainly the faireſt way of judging.

THEY acknowledge *magiſtracy* to be God's ordinance; and that kings, and ſuch

p *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 49.

as

as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all civil matters, *not only for fear, but alſo for conſcience-ſake* q.

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful; and declare, that all of their profeſſion were willing, in faithfulneſs and truth, to ſubſcribe the *oath* of *allegiance* r.

THEY proteſt againſt the doctrine of the *Papiſts*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be depoſed or murdered by their *ſubjects*; calling it a damnable and accurſed *doctrine*, which their *ſouls* abhor; and alſo againſt the error of the *Familiſts*, who to avoid perſecution, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY confeſs, that Chriſt took his fleſh of the virgin *Mary*; and for their orthodoxy in theſe and other points, refer the reader to their *confeſſion of faith*, publiſh'd four years before this, which muſt be in the year 1611.

THEY acknowledged, that many call'd *Anabaptiſts*, held ſeveral ſtrange opinions contrary to them; but lament it, and clear themſelves from deſerving any cenſure upon that account, by ſhewing that it was ſo in the primitive church, and yet Chriſt did not condemn all for the errors of ſome.

BUT that which they chiefly inveigh againſt, is the pride, luxury, and oppreſſion of the lord *biſhops*, or pretended ſpi-

q *Perſecut. judg'd and condemn'd*, p. 5. r Ibid. p. 23.

ritual

ritual power, whereby they were expoſed to great hardſhips and cruel perſecutions[a].

IN their preface, having mentioned that text, *The kings of the earth ſhall give their power unto the beaſt*; 'If it be granted, ſay 'they, that the kings of this nation for-'merly have given their power to the *Ro-'miſh beaſt*, it ſhall evidently appear, that 'our lord the king, and all magiſtrates 'under him, do give their power unto the 'ſame beaſt, tho' the beaſt be in another 'ſhape.'—And preſently after; 'Our moſt 'humble deſire of our lord the king is, 'that he would not give his power to 'force his faithful *ſubjects* to diſſemble, to 'believe as he believes, in the leaſt mea-'ſure of perſecution; tho' it is no ſmall 'perſecution to lie many years in filthy pri-'ſons, in hunger, cold, idleneſs, divided 'from wife, family, calling, left in con-'tinual miſeries and temptations, ſo as 'death would be to many leſs perſecu-'tion.'

AGAIN, ſhewing how near the prela-tical power and uſurpation came to the bloody ſpiritual power of the *Roman Ca-tholicks*, they ſay: 'How many, only for 'ſeeking reformation in religion, have been 'put to death by your power in the days 'of Q. *Elizabeth*? and how many, both 'then and ſince, have been conſumed to

[a] *Perſecution judged*, &c. p. 27.

'death

'death in prisons? Yea, since that spiri-
'tual power hath been set up, hath not
'hanging, burning, exile, imprisonments,
'and all manner of contempt been used,
'and all for religion, altho' some for griev-
'ous errors, and yet you see not this to
'be a bloody religion!'

'LET, say they in another place, Mr. *Fox*,
'or any others who have described the spi-
'ritual power of *Rome*, let but their descrip-
'tion thereof be compared with the spiri-
'tual power, in all their laws, courts, titles,
'pomp, pride, and cruelty, and you shall
'see them very little differ, except in their
'*cruelties*, which, glory be to God, the
'King's Majesty, who thirsteth not after
'blood, hath somewhat restrained. Al-
'tho' it is most grievous cruelty to lie di-
'vers years in most noisome and filthy
'prisons, and continual temptations of
'want, their estates overthrown, and ne-
'ver coming out, many of them till
'death; let it be well-weighed, and it is
'little inferior to the cruel sudden death
'in times of the *Romish power* in this na-
'tion.'

BUT after all this, they conclude with an hearty prayer for their enemies, 'That 'the Lord would give them repentance, 'that their sins may not be laid to their 'charge, even for Christ's sake.'

NOTWITHSTANDING this, their suf-ferings were rather encreased than lessen'd:

They

They were not only railed againſt in the pulpits under the names of *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks*, and *Anabaptiſts*, and harraſſed in the ſpiritual courts; but the temporal ſword was uſed againſt them; their goods ſeized, their perſons confined for many years in ſtinking goals, where they were depriv'd of their wives, children, and friends, till the Divine Majeſty was pleaſed to releaſe ſeveral of them by death.

An. Dom. 1618.

IN the year 1618. there came forth a book, vindicating the principles of the *Baptiſts**. This was tranſlated from the *Dutch*, and is thought to be the firſt that was publiſhed in *Engliſh* againſt the baptizing of infants. The argument of this book is laid down in the following eight propoſitions:

The firſt book in Engliſh *publiſhed againſt infant-baptiſm.*

'1. THAT Chriſt commanded his *apoſtles*, and ſervants of the Holy Ghoſt, 'firſt of all to preach the *goſpel*, and make '*diſciples*, and afterwards to *baptize* thoſe 'that were inſtructed in the faith, in call-'ing upon and confeſſing the name of 'God.

'2. THAT the *apoſtles* and *ſervants* of 'the Holy Ghoſt have, according to the 'commandment of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'firſt of all *taught*, and then afterwards 'thoſe that were inſtructed in the myſte-'ries of the kingdom of God were *bap-'tized*, upon the confeſſing of their faith.

* *A plain and well-grounded treatiſe concerning baptiſm.*

'3. THAT

'3. THAT after the *apoſtle*'s time, by 'the antient *fathers* in the primitive church, 'who obſerved and followed the *ordinance* 'of Chriſt, and the example of the *apo-* 'ſtles, the people were commonly inſtruc- 'ted in the myſteries of faith; and after 'that they were *taught*, they were *bap-* 'tized upon confeſſion of the ſame.

'4. THAT by the antient *fathers* in the 'primitive church, the children both of 'the faithful and others, were commonly '*firſt inſtructed* in the faith, and afterwards, 'upon acknowledging and confeſſing of 'the ſame, they were *baptized*.

'5. THAT according to the inſtitution 'of the Lord Chriſt, and the *apoſtles* and 'antient *fathers* right uſe, the teachers re- 'quired *faith* with *baptiſm*, and that he that 'was *baptized* muſt himſelf acknowledge 'and confeſs the ſame, and call upon the 'name of the Lord.

'6. THAT Chriſt neither gave com- 'mandment for *baptizing* of *children*, nor 'inſtituted the ſame; and that the *apoſtles* 'never *baptized* any *infants*.

'7. THAT the *baptiſm* of *infants* and 'ſucklings is a *ceremony* and *ordinance* of 'man, brought into the church by teachers 'after the *apoſtle*'s time, and inſtituted and 'commanded by *councils*, *popes*, and *em-* 'perors.

'8. THAT young *children* or *infants* 'ought not to be *baptized*; and that none

'ought to be brought, driven, or compell'd 'thereunto.'

ALL which the *author* endeavours to prove, either from ſeveral paſſages of *Scripture*, or large quotations out of the fathers.

I DO not find that this book receiv'd any anſwer till about thirty years after. Then Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*, of *New-England*, publiſhed *A vindication of childrens church-memberſhip, and right to baptiſm.*

I DO ſuppoſe the book was concealed as much as poſſible, till the civil wars produced liberty of conſcience; which occaſioned it to go ſo long unanſwered.

THOSE who diſſented from the eſtabliſh'd church at this time, were proſecuted by the laws made in this and the former reign againſt them; and thoſe deemed *Anabaptiſts* had of all others the leaſt favour ſhewn them, *fines* and *impriſonments* being uſually their lot.

An. Dom. 1620. *The Baptiſts preſent their humble ſupplication to K.* James.

IN the year 1620. they preſented an humble ſupplication to K. *James*, the parliament then ſitting; wherein they firſt acknowledge their obligation, by virtue of a divine command, *to pray for kings, and all that are in authority*; and appeal to God that it was their conſtant practice ſo to do. They ſet forth, that their miſeries were not only the taking away of their *goods*, but alſo long and lingering *impriſonments* for many years, in divers *counties* in *England*, in which many have died, leaving their *widows* and

and ſeveral ſmall children behind them, and all becauſe they dared not join in ſuch worſhip as they did not believe to be according to the will of God.

THEY challenge their *enemies* to accuſe them of any diſloyalty to his Majeſty, or of doing any injury to their neighbours; and declare their readineſs to be obedient to all the *laws* that were or ſhould be made for the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon, and ſecurity of his government in all civil or temporal things: but that further than this they could not go, becauſe God was the Lord of mens conſciences, and only lawgiver in matters of religion.

THAT if they were in *error*, theſe cruel proceedings did no ways become the charity and goodneſs of the Chriſtian religion; but were the marks of *Antichriſt*, for what they themſelves condemned in the *Papiſts*.

THAT ſuch methods might indeed tempt men to become *hypocrites*; but that it was not in their power to command belief, or compel the heart.

AND therefore they humbly beſeech his Majeſty, his nobles and parliament, to conſider their caſe, and that according to the direction of God's word, they would *let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harveſt*.

To this they ſubjoin ten ſhort chapters; wherein they endeavour to prove, that the ſacred ſcriptures are the rule of our faith,

and not any *church*, *council*, or *potentate* whatſoever:

THAT the moſt neceſſary doctrines therein contained are ſufficiently plain, ſo that every one that ſearches with a ſincere and obedient mind may underſtand them:

THAT the knowledge of God's will, and practiſe of true religion, has commonly been found among thoſe that have been poor and deſpiſed in this world, while the great and learned have been in *error*, and the chief *perſecutors* both of the truth and its profeſſors:

THAT to perſecute men for their conſcience-ſake, is contrary to the law of Chriſt, as well as to ſeveral declarations that had been made by the king's majeſty, and other famous princes:

THAT both antient and modern writers, both *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, do condemn it as a great iniquity; and that to grant men liberty in matters of religion, can be no prejudice to any *commonwealth*, neither does it deprive *princes* of any power given them of God.

AND then they conclude the whole with prayer for the king's majeſty, for his royal highneſs the prince, and the honourable aſſembly of *parliament*; calling God, the ſearcher of all hearts to witneſs, that they were loyal *ſubjects* to his majeſty, *not for fear only, but for conſcience-ſake*; ſubſcribing themſelves, thoſe who are *unjuſtly called Anabaptiſts*.

BUT

BUT notwithſtanding the odium caſt upon them, and the ſeverities uſed againſt them, they kept up their ſeparate meetings, and had many *diſciples* who embraced their opinion, as is declared by thoſe who writ againſt them.

AMONG the many *proſelytes* which they had at this time, there was one at *London*, who being ſeverely reflected upon for his ſeparating from the church, and divers falſe reaſons for his ſo doing being reported, thought fit to write a letter to his *friends*, to acquaint them with the real occaſion of it; and that he might recommend his preſent *principle* and *practice* to them with the more advantage, he got one of the elders of the *Baptiſts* to draw it up for him. But before this letter came to the perſons deſigned, it fell into the hands of *one* in the communion of the church of *England*, who immediately publiſhed it, together with an anſwer thereto.

THIS letter, diſcovering ſomething of the principles and ſpirit of the *Baptiſts* of thoſe times, and the arguments by which they did then maintain their opinions; I ſhall here inſert the copy thereof [t].

Beloved Friends,

'THE antient love that I have had 'towards you, provoketh me to

[t] *Anabap. Myſtery of Iniquity unmasked, by* J. P. An. 1623.

'teſtify that I have not forgotten you, 'but am deſirous ſtill to ſhew my unfeign-'ed love to you in any thing I may. I 'make no queſtion but you have heard 'divers falſe reports of me, altho' among 'the ſame ſome truths; and that you may 'be truly informed of my ſtate, I thought 'good to write a few words unto you, 'hoping you will not ſpeak evil of that 'you know not, nor condemn a man un-'heard. The thing wherein I differ from 'the church of *England*, is, they ſay at 'their *waſhing* or *baptizing* their *infants*, 'they are members, children of God, and 'inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. 'This I dare not believe, for the Scriptures
1 Cor. xv. 'of God declare, that neither fleſh, nor
John iii. 5. 'waſhing the fleſh, can ſave. *Fleſh and 'blood cannot enter into the kingdom of God*;
John i. 12. 'for *that which is fleſh is fleſh*; and *we 'cannot enter into the kingdom of God, ex-'cept we be born again.* They that have
1 Pet. iii. 21. 'prerogative to be the ſons of God, muſt
Gal. vi. 15. 'be *born of God*, even believe in his name;
Matt. xxviii. 19. 'and *the waſhing off the filth of the fleſh* is 'not *the baptiſm that ſaveth*; but a *good 'conſcience* maketh requeſts to God. *If*
Mar. xvi. 15, 16. 'any man be in Chriſt, he is a new creature.' The conſequence of this is, that *infants* 'are not to be baptized, nor can be *Chri-'ſtians*; but ſuch only as confeſs their faith, 'as theſe Scriptures teach. There is nei-'ther command, example, or juſt conſe-

'quence

'quence for *infants baptiſm*, but for the baptizing of *believers*. There is beſides, of the church of God, to be conſider'd what it is; it will plainly appear, that *infants* cannot be of it; they that know the language from whence the word *church* is taken, can witneſs that it ſignifieth *a people called out*, and ſo the church of Chriſt is a company called out of their former eſtate, wherein they were by nature; out of *Babylon*, wherein they have been in ſpiritual bondage to the power of Antichriſt, and from having fellowſhip in ſpiritual worſhip with unbelievers and ungodly men: From all, whoſoever cometh out, they are fit timber for his ſpiritual building, which is *a habitation of God by the Spirit*, and *the houſhold of faith*. Thoſe thus come out of nature, *Egyptian* bondage, and the fellowſhip of the children of *Belial*, being *new creatures*, and ſo *holy brethren*, are made *God's houſe*, or *church*, through being knit together by the Spirit of God, and baptized into *his body*, *which is the church*. This being undeniable the church of Chriſt, *infants* cannot be of it, for they cannot be called out, as aforeſaid. Known wicked men cannot be of it, becauſe they are not called out, nor antichriſts ſpiritual bondage cannot be of it, becauſe that is *a habitation of devils*, and all God's people muſt go out of that.

Acts ii. 38, 41. — viii. 12, 37. — ix. 18. — x. 47. — xvi. 31. — xviii. 8. — xix. 3.

Rev. xviii. 4.

2 Cor. vi. 14.

1 Pet. i. 5. Eph. ii. 22.

Gal. ii. 10.

Heb. iii. 6.

1 Cor. xii. 13.

Eph. i. 22, 23.

Rev. xviii. 2. 4.

Gal. iii. 26. 2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15. John viii. 3. Gen. xvii. *Read* Gal. iv. 22. *and conſider it in the fear of God.* Heb. ix. 9, 10. Rom. iv. 8, 19. Heb. xii. 28.

'WHAT can be objected againſt this? 'Are not all *the ſons of God by faith?* If 'any be in Chriſt, or a Chriſtian, muſt he 'not be a *new creature?* I pray you, do 'not take up that uſual objection which 'the *Antichriſtians* have learned of the '*Jews*, "What telleſt thou us of being "made *Chriſtians* only by faith in the Son, "and ſo being made free? we are the "children of *Abraham*, and of believers; "we are under the promiſe, I will be the "God of thee and thy ſeed: Thus are we "and our children made free, whenas "they neither do nor can believe in the "Son." This is a *Jewiſh* antichriſtian fa- 'ble. For *Abraham* had two ſons, which 'were types of the two ſeeds, to the which 'two covenants are made: The one *born 'after the fleſh*, typing out the fleſhly *Iſ- 'raelites*, which were the inhabitants of 'material *Jeruſalem*, where was the ma- 'terial temple, and the performance of 'thoſe carnal rites which endured unto the 'time of reformation: The other *by faith*, 'typing out the children of the faith of '*Abraham*, which are the inhabitants of 'the ſpiritual *Jeruſalem*, the New Teſta- 'ment, in which is the ſpiritual temple, 'the church of the living God, and the 'performance of all thoſe ſpiritual ordi- 'nances which Chriſt Jeſus, as prophet and 'king thereof, hath appointed, which re- 'mains, and cannot be ſhaken or alter'd.

'Now

'Now if the old covenant be aboliſhed, Heb. viii.
'and all the appertainings thereof, as it is, 13.
'as being ſimilitudes of heavenly things; —ix. 19,
'even the covenant written in the book, 24.
'the people, the tabernacle or temple, and
'all the miniſtring veſſels; and a better
'covenant, eſtabliſh'd upon better promiſes, —viii. 6.
'and better temple and miniſtring veſſels
'came inſtead thereof, procured and pur-
'chaſed by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, who
'is the new and living way: *let us draw* —x. 19,
'*near with a true heart, in aſſurance of* 24.
'*faith, ſprinkled in our hearts from an evil*
'*conſcience, and baptized in our bodies with*
'*pure water: let us keep this profeſſion of*
'*hope without wavering, and have no con-*
'*fidence in the fleſh*, to reap juſtification or
'chriſtianity thereby; but let us caſt it a-
'way as dung and droſs: for if ever any
'might plead privilege of being the child
'of the faithful, the Apoſtle *Paul* might, as Phil. iii. 3.
'he ſaith; —*read the place*—but it was no-
'thing till he had the righteouſneſs of God Acts ix.
'through faith, then was he *baptized* into 18.
'Chriſt Jeſus for the remiſſion of his ſins.

'THIS covenant, that we as children of
'*Abraham* challenge, is the covenant of
'life and ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, made
'to all the children of *Abraham*, as it Rom. iv.
'is made to *Abraham* himſelf; *to them* 24.
'*that believe in him that raiſed up Je-*
'*ſus our Lord from the dead.* As alſo,
'the children of the fleſh are not they;

'they

Acts xiii. 26,32,39. Rom. ix. 8. Gal. iv. 30. Rom. iv. 14, 16. Gal. iii. 7, 9, 29. —iii. 16, 29.

'they must be put out, and must not be heirs with the faithful: *If they that are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect. Therefore it is by faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be sure to all the seed that are of the faith of* Abraham, *who is the father of all the faithful.* They are his children; the promise of salvation is not made with both *Abraham*'s seeds, but with *his own seed, they that are of the faith of* Abraham.'

Eph. iv. 28. Hos. viii. 18. 1 Cor. iii. 21.

'THESE things may be strange to those that are *strangers from the life of God, thro' the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardness of their hearts.* God hath written them as the great things of his law; but they are counted of many as a strange thing: *but wisdom is justified of all her children,* and they that set their hearts to seek wisdom as silver, and search for her as for treasure, they shall see the righteousness of those things as the light, and the evidence of them as the noon-day. They that be wise will try these things by the true touchstone of the holy scriptures, and leave off rejoicing in men, to hang their faith and profession on them; the which I fear not to supplicate God day and night on the behalf of you all. To whose gracious direction I commit you, with a remembrance of my hearty love to every one; desiring but this favour,

'vour, that for requital I may receive your
'loving anſwer.

Lond. 10 May, 1622.

'*Your's to be commanded al-*
'*ways in any Chriſtian*
'*ſervice,*

H. H.

'*P. S.* I have ſent to my friends a te-
'ſtimony of my love; one book to Ma-
'ſter *Stroud*, one to Goodman *Ball*, one
'to Mrs. *Fountaine*, one to *Roger Seely*,
'one to *Samuel Quaſh*, and one to your
'ſelf. I beſeech you read, conſider, and
'*the Lord give you underſtanding in all*
'*things.*'

THE perſon who publiſhed this letter, with an anſwer thereto, obſerves, That they ſeparated from the church, and writ many books in defence of their principles, and had multitudes of diſciples [u]: That it was their cuſtom to produce a great number of ſcriptures to prove their doctrines [x]: That they were in appearance more holy than thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church [y]: That they diſſuaded their *diſciples* from reading the churchmens books, hearing in their aſſemblies, or conferring with their learned

[u] *Anabapt. Myſtery of iniquity unveil'd, p.* 61.
[x] *Advertiſement to the reader.*
[y] *Unmaſking the man of ſin,* p. 113.

men:

men [z]: That beſides the denyal of *infant-baptiſm*, they denied alſo the doctrine of predeſtination, reprobation, final perſeverance, and other truths; but of their oppoſing theſe he gives no expreſs proof, but ſays [a], 'Tho' their letter queſtion them not, 'yet I ſuppoſe their ſeeds are ſown among 'you, ſo well by their *apoſtles* as books.'

THIS indeed has ordinarily been their treatment, to be accuſed only upon ſuppoſition, and have their whole *party* branded with the errors or miſcarriages of a few.

THE ſaid author further obſerves from this letter [b], that the *Baptiſts* do allow of juſt conſequences from ſcripture as a ſound way of arguing: And as for expreſs command or example for *baptizing* of *infants*, he does not pretend to bring any; but rather attempts to juſtify that practice from *human* authority.

HE reckons that the age in which a perſon is to be baptized, the place of waſhing, whether in a river or an artificial font; the manner of waſhing, whether the whole body, or but a part; whether by ſprinkling, or rubbing with the hand; and whether after waſhing, to wipe the body with a cloth, *&c.* are things which Chriſt hath left to the diſpoſing of the church [c].

[z] *Advert. to the reader.*
[a] *Anabapt. Myſt. p.* 42, 65.
[b] *Ibid. p.* 38.
[c] *Ibid. p.* 136.

HE

HE ſays, moreover, in his *advertiſement to the reader*, 'if there were not a warrant in holy ſcripture, in direct words, or plain conſequence, for baptizing *infants*; yet inſomuch, as it is an *ordinance of man*, which croſſeth not any command of God, it is to be obeyed by Chriſtians, and that by command of God: for he that is not againſt Chriſt, is for Chriſt.' It muſt however be granted, that this *controverſy* is ſet in a much clearer light, and managed after a more accurate manner on both ſides, in the preſent age, than it was in thoſe times.

IN the year 1624. there came forth much greater *champions* in defence of *infant-baptiſm*. An. Dom. 1624.

THE famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* [d] united their ſtrength, and joined together in publiſhing a ſmall treatiſe againſt the erroneous poſitions of the *Anabaptiſts*, as they term'd them.

IN the *preface* they apologize for their ingaging in this *controverſy*, by alledging, that thoſe of the contrary opinion were very induſtrious, and took great pains to propagate their doctrine: That divers perſons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them: That ſeveral had entreated their help and aſſiſtance, and that they had been engaged already in private debates about this matter.

[d] *The patrimony of Chriſtian children.*

THIS

THIS *pamphlet* being ſcarce, very few have or can now obtain a ſight of it; I ſhall therefore obſerve two or three things in it that are uncommon.

IN the *preface* they repreſent the *Baptiſts* of thoſe times as agreeing with the *Arminians* only in ſome opinions.

WHEN they anſwer the objections of the *Baptiſts*, which they ſay[e] are recited out of their own books *verbatim*, they politickly conceal both the names of the *authors*, and the *titles* of the books, except one; which if it was done to prevent examining the truth of their quotations, keep the knowlege of ſuch writings from the world, hinder perſons from reading their arguments at length, and with their connection, or that they might the better charge the whole party with the opinion of ſome particular perſons; all theſe muſt be owned very unfair in diſputants.

THEY charge it upon the *Baptiſts* as a great error held by them, that no *infants* dying in infancy are damned with the wicked in hell, which ſalvation they have by the merits of Chriſt[f].

WHEN they alſo charge upon them, the denial of *original ſin*, as the occaſion of their error in *baptiſm*, they themſelves run into as great an error, to avoid the force of the others arguments, *viz.* that the ſoul of

[e] Page 22.
[f] Page 49.

man

man is by propagation; affirming, that *Adam* was the father of men, in reſpect of their ſouls as well as their bodies; that as other creatures beget the whole of their offſpring, ſo do men; and that when God is called *the father of ſpirits*, and men *the fathers of our fleſh*, it does not denote any different original of ſoul and body[g]. Beſides theſe, I do not find any thing but what is common upon the controverſy.

BUT to cloſe this reign, Mr. *Neal* ſays[h], 'That it is hard to make any judgment of 'King *James*'s religion: For one while he 'was a *Puritan*, and then a zealous *Church-man*; at firſt a *Calviniſt* and *Preſbyterian*, 'afterwards a *Remonſtrant* or *Arminian*; 'and at laſt a half, if not an entire doctrinal *Papiſt*.'

Rapin ſays[i], 'he was neither a ſound '*Proteſtant*, nor a good *Catholick*; but 'had form'd a plan of uniting both 'churches, which muſt effectually have 'ruin'd the *proteſtant* intereſt; for which 'indeed he never expreſſed any real con-'cern.'

[g] Page 73, 74.
[h] *Hiſt. Puritt.* vol. II. p. 151.
[i] *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. II. p. 236.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the end of the reign of King James I. *to the reſtoration of King* Charles II.

Charles I. An. Dom. 1625.

KING *Charles* I. ſucceeded his father, and being tinctur'd from his infancy with the principles concerning the regal authority and prerogative royal, ſo much improved by the deceaſed king during his life[a], kept the ſame *favourite*, the ſame *council*, the ſame *miniſters*, and all the places at court, and in the kingdom, ſtill continued in the hands of the duke of *Buckingham*'s creatures; ſo that the ſufferings and hardſhips of the *Puritans* were ſtill continued: For, like the king his father, he was very fond of *arbitrary power* and had no *favourites* or *miniſters* but what were of the ſame principles.

The privy-council.

HIS *privy-council* became by degrees an abſolute court, which thought itſelf above the laws.

Star-chamber.

The *ſtar-chamber* was another court, the moſt rigorous that ever was; the

[a] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 237.

ſeve-

ſeverity whereof fell chiefly upon thoſe who pretended to diſpute the prerogative royal. The *high-commiſſion-court* perfectly ſeconded the *council* and *ſtar-chamber*; and under a colour of putting a ſtop to *ſchiſm*, oppreſſed as *Puritans* thoſe that refuſed to ſubmit to a deſpotick power. *Laud* had almoſt the ſole direction of this *high-commiſſion-court*, after the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was excluded on account of *Sibthorp*'s ſermon. He ſo managed therefore, to prevent the growth of *Preſbyterianiſm*, that the king ſent certain *inſtructions* to the archbiſhops, with a command to impart them to the *biſhops* of their *provinces*, in order to their being obſerved. The chief ends of theſe *inſtructions* were, to hinder any *Preſbyterian* from creeping into the church of *England*, and to diſcover the careleſs obſervers of the rites preſcribed by the canons.

High-commiſſion court.

Oppreſs the Puritans.

WE do not find in the principles and doctrines of the church of *England*, any thing repugnant to charity, or tending to violence; but it was wholly owing to the character and deſigns of the *court-prelates*, of the king's *miniſters* and *counſellors*, who meant to carry the royal authority to the higheſt degree [c]. They thought nothing could more conduce to that end, than the humbling, or rather the utter ruin of the

[b] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 285.
[c] *Ibid*, p. 287.

Puritans, and unfortunately conſidered as ſuch, all that oppoſed their deſign.

THE *Preſbyterian* party, tho' very numerous, as plainly appeared afterwards, laboured then under great oppreſſions. They had againſt them the *king*, the *miniſters*, the *council*, the *ſtar-chamber*, the *high-commiſſion*, the principal heads of the church of *England*, the *Arminians*, the *Papiſts*, the *lord-lieutenants* of the *counties*, the *judges* of the realm, and all the *magiſtrates* in general; notwithſtanding all which, they daily gained ground.

Yet they gain ground.

'THIS would ſeem, ſays *Rapin*[d], incredible, if it was not conſidered, that the court themſelves were the chief cauſe of their increaſe. The court looked upon as *Puritans* all who did not ſhew ſubmiſſion enough to the king, or would not allow ſufficient extent to the prerogative-royal; and by oppreſſing them as ſuch, or by refuſing them all kinds of employments, engaged them unavoidably to turn to the *Preſbyterians*. As the king's pretenſions, with regard to government, were not approved by the majority of the nation; it happen'd by degrees, that almoſt all *England* became *Preſbyterian*, according to the ſenſe given by the court to that term.'

[d] *Hiſt.* England, vol. II. p. 292.

Sir

SIR *Benjamin Rudyard*, a member of the houſe of *commons*, to intimate that there was a ſettled deſign to bring in *popery* and arbitrary power in *England*, expreſſed himſelf in the *houſe* after this manner [e]. 'They 'have ſo brought it to paſs, that under the 'name of *Puritans* all our religion is bran-'ded:---whoſoever ſquares his actions by 'any rule, either divine or human, he is 'a *Puritan*;--- he that will not do what-'ſoever other men would have him do, he 'is a *Puritan*, *&c.*" *Sir* Benj. Rudyard's *ſpeech.*

IN ſhort, the reign of K. *Charles* I. was more violent in perſecuting the *Puritans*, than that of his father *James*: *Laud* being made biſhop of *London*, and afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and one of the prime miniſters, uſed all his induſtry and credit to humble the *Puritan party*; that is, not only the *Preſbyterian*, but alſo the *Calviniſts*, and ſuch as would not patiently bear the yoke of ſervitude.

Matthew Wren, biſhop of *Norwich*, the biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Coſins*, prebendary of *Durham*, being all of the ſame principles, ſeconded him in his deſign.

IN the year 1633, the *Baptiſts*, who had hitherto been intermixed among other *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, without diſtinction, and ſo conſequently ſhared with the *Puritans* in all the *perſecutions* of thoſe times, began now to ſeparate themſelves, and form diſtinct *ſo-* An. Dom. 1633. *The* Baptiſts *begin to form diſtinct ſocieties.*

[e] *Rapin Hiſt.* England, vol. II. p. 353.

cieties of thoſe of their own perſuaſion. Concerning the firſt of which I find the following account collected from a manuſcript of Mr. *William Kiffin*.

'THERE was a congregation of Pro-
'teſtant *Diſſenters* of the *independant* Per-
'ſuaſion in *London*, gather'd in the year
'1616, whereof Mr. *Henry Jacob* was
'the firſt paſtor; and after him ſucceeded
'Mr. *John Lathorp*, who was their mi-
'niſter at this time. In this ſociety ſeve-
'ral perſons, finding that the congrega-
'tion kept not to their firſt principles of
'ſeparation, and being alſo convinced that
'*baptiſm* was not to be adminiſtred to *in-*
'*fants*, but ſuch only as profeſſed faith in
'Chriſt, deſired that they might be diſ-
'miſſed from that communion, and al-
'lowed to form a diſtinct congregation, in
'ſuch order as was moſt agreeable to their
'own ſentiments.

'THE church, conſidering that they
'were now grown very numerous, and ſo
'more than could in theſe times of perſe-
'cution conveniently meet together, and
'believing alſo that thoſe perſons acted
'from a principle of conſcience, and not
'obſtinacy, agreed to allow them the li-
'berty they deſired, and that they ſhould
'be conſtituted a diſtinct church; which
'was perform'd the 12th of *Sept.* 1633.
'And as they believed that *baptiſm* was
'not rightly adminiſtred to *infants*, ſo they

look'd

'look'd upon the *baptiſm* they had receiv'd 'in that age as invalid: whereupon moſt 'or all of them received a new *baptiſm*. 'Their miniſter was Mr. *John Spilſbury*. 'What number they were is uncertain, be- 'cauſe in the mentioning of the names of 'about twenty men and women, it is ad- 'ded, *with divers others*. *Records of that church.*

'IN the year 1638, Mr. *William Kiffin*, 'Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*, and others, being of 'the ſame judgment, were upon their re- 'queſt, diſmiſſed to the ſaid Mr. *Spilſbury*'s 'congregation. An. Dom. 1638.

'IN the year 1639, another congrega- 'tion of *Bapiſts* was formed, whoſe place 'of meeting was in *Crutched-Fryars*; the 'chief promoters of which were Mr. *Green*, 'Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, and Captain *Spencer*.'

IN the beginning of the year 1640, a war againſt the *Scots* was reſolved on, and thought ſo reaſonable and neceſſary to the King's honour, that it might be ventured with an *Engliſh* Parliament. Which being laid before the council, was chearfully agreed to, and after twelve years interval, a parliament was ſummoned to meet *April* 13. and being met, inſtead of beginning with the ſupply, appointed *committees* for *religion* and *grievances*; which diſobliged the King ſo much, that after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to perſuade them to begin with the ſubſidy bill, he diſſolved them An. Dom. 1640. *A parliament ſummoned, and diſſolved.*

in anger, without paſſing a ſingle act, after they had ſat about three weeks.

The convocation continues ſitting,

'THE convocation that ſat with this 'parliament, was opened *April* 14. with 'more ſplendor and magnificence[f], ſays 'Mr. *Neal*, than the ſituation of affairs 'required.'

THO' the convocation, according to antient cuſtom, ſhould have broke up at the ſame time with the parliament, yet they continued ſitting, and paſſed ſeventeen canons, approved by the privy council, and ſubſcribed by as many of both houſes of convocation as were preſent. That the canon againſt *ſectaries*, may be better underſtood, it will be neceſſary to tranſcribe an abſtract of that againſt *Popery*, *viz.* 'All eccleſiaſtical perſons, with-

and paſs ſeventeen canons.

Canon 3. 'in their ſeveral pariſhes or juriſdictions, 'ſhall confer privately with *popiſh recuſants*; [g] but if private conference prevail 'not, the church muſt and ſhall come 'to her cenſures; and to make way for 'them, ſuch perſons ſhall be preſented at 'the next viſitation, who come not to 'church, and refuſe to receive the holy 'euchariſt, or who either ſay or hear 'maſs, and if they remain obſtinate after 'citation, they ſhall be excommunicated. 'But if neither conference nor cenſures 'prevail, the church ſhall then complain of

[f] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 342.
[g] *Ibid.* p. 347.

'them

'them to the civil power, and this ſacred 'ſynod does earneſtly entreat the reverend 'juſtices of aſſize to be careful in exe- 'cuting the laws as they will anſwer it to 'God.

'THE ſynod decrees, that the canon above mentioned againſt *Papiſts*, ſhall be in full force againſt all *Anabaptiſts*, *Brown-iſts* *Separatiſts*, and other *Sectaries*, as far they are applicable.' *Canon* 5.

WHEN the canons of this arbitrary (who call themſelves ſacred) ſynod were made publick, they were generally diſliked; and had not the execution of them been ſuſpended by the prevailing of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* with the king at *York*, *Laud* might have been more famous (or rather infamous) than even *Bonner* himſelf in the *Marian* days.

IN the year 1641. one Mr. *Edward Barber* put forth a ſmall piece in defence of immerſion; intituled, *A treatiſe of baptiſm or dipping; wherein is clearly ſhewed, that our Lord Chriſt ordained dipping; and that ſprinkling of children is not according to Chriſt's inſtitution; and alſo the invalidity of thoſe arguments that are commonly brought to juſtify that practice.* *Anno Dom.* 1641. Edward Barber.

IN the year following another treatiſe came forth, written by *A. R.* intituled, *the vanity of childrens baptiſm.* This *author* attempts to prove theſe two points againſt the eſtabliſhed church, *viz.* that

dipping is neceſſary to the right adminiſtration of *baptiſm*, and that this ſacrament is not to be given to *infants*.

Mr. Francis Cornwell *proſelyted to the* Baptiſts,

ABOUT this time there was a conſiderable proſelyte made to the opinion of the *Baptiſts*; namely, Mr. *Francis Cornwell, M. A.* and ſometime ſtudent of *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*. Whether he received his conviction from the treatiſes abovenamed, or whether he was only by them put upon examination of the *controverſy*, and upon ſearch of the *ſcripture*, and firſt *fathers* of the church, found the truth to be on their ſide, I cannot ſay; but this is evident, when he had found out the truth himſelf, he was willing to help others to do ſo likewiſe; and therefore publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, dedicated to the houſe of commons, intituled *the vindication of the royal commiſſion of king Jeſus*. Wherein he lays down ſeveral arguments to prove, that the practice of *chriſtening children* oppoſes the commiſſion granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it is a *Romiſh* or *Antichriſtian* cuſtom, and was eſtabliſhed by pope *Innocent* III. who made a decree, that the *baptiſm* of *infants* of believers ſhould ſucceed *circumciſion*.

A diſpute between Dr. Featly *and four* Anabaptiſts *in* Southwark.

THIS year alſo, in the month of *October*, was that diſpute between Dr. *Featly* (the favourite *author* of the reverend Mr. *Neal*) and four *Anabaptiſts* in *Southwark*; of which ſome have made ſo great a noiſe

ſince,

ſince, and Mr. *Neal* ſeems willing ſhould not be buried in oblivion.

I DO not find that any have publiſhed an account of this *diſputation* but the Doctor himſelf, or that there was any *amanuenſis* to take down perfectly what was ſpoken at that time; but only ſhort notes taken by himſelf, or one of his friends, which the Doctor filled up according to his own memory. And he did not publiſh it neither, till about two years after, when beſides his fixed prejudice againſt the *Diſſenters*, he was put out of humour, by being deprived of two livings, which he enjoyed before the unhappy difference between the King and parliament. And he tells the *Reader* in his *dedication*, that he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. How fair and impartial an account ſuch a man was like to give, and what credit Mr. *Neal* has got to himſelf by becoming his *diſciple*, let the reader judge. For after all, by the Doctor's own account of this *diſputation*, his antagoniſts do not appear ſo very deſpicable; nor did he gain any great advantage of them. An indifferent reader will clearly ſee the force and ſimplicity of the argument on the one hand, and the art and ſhuffling that was uſed on the other.

ONE of the *Anabaptiſts*, whom he calls a *Scotchman*, began the diſcourſe after this humble and modeſt manner.

'MASTER

'MASTER doctor, we come to diſpute 'with you at this time, not for contention ſake, but to receive ſatisfaction: 'We hold that the *baptiſm* of *infants* cannot be proved lawful by the teſtimony of '*ſcripture*, or by *apoſtolical* tradition. If 'you therefore can prove the ſame either 'way, we ſhall willingly ſubmit unto 'you.'

THE doctor preſently breaks forth into *exclamations*: Are you then *Anabaptiſts*? and inſults over them as *Hereticks*, who were *mechanic* and *illiterate* men, by whoſe habit he could judge they were not fit to diſpute; that they could not diſpute on *authority*, becauſe they underſtood not the *original*; nor by *reaſon*, becauſe ſuch muſt underſtand how to conclude *ſyllogiſtically* in mood and figure; with abundance of ſuch *pedantick* ſtuff, that ſavoured of nothing but pride and a bad cauſe.

HE that will take the pains to read his own account of this *diſputation*, will eaſily perceive how the *Doctor* endeavours through the whole to fly from the argument propoſed, thereby to entangle the innocent men, and eſcape giving good proof for the points. One while he propoſes difficulties to them about the *doctrine* of the *Trinity*; then again about the form of a true church: preſently, he goes about to prove, that *magiſtrates* have power to impoſe religion; afterwards, that we ought to uſe forms of prayer;

prayer; anon, that none ought to preach without epiſcopal ordination; with a many other impertinent digreſſions.

HE that would have an account of his *fooliſh pictures*, may ſee a book which came out preſently after the Doctor's, intitled, *Brief conſiderations on Dr.* Featly's *book*, by *Samuel Richardſon*.

ABOUT this time it was, that the pious Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, who had been forced to fly to *New-England* to eſcape the perſecution of the high-commiſſion-court, returned back again to *London*; where by his plain and faithful way of preaching, there was ſoon gathered a congregation of chriſtians *baptized* upon the profeſſion of their faith, over whom he was alſo ordained paſtor, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more as we go on.

THE King's affairs being now brought to the utmoſt extremity, and he finding it impoſſible to carry on the war againſt the *Scots*, appointed commiſſioners to treat with them at *Rippon*; who agreed for a ceſſation of *arms* for two months, and the treaty to be adjourned to *London*, where a free parliament was immediately to be called. *The long parliament*

'SAD and melancholly, ſays Mr. *Neal* [h], 'was the condition of the *prime miniſters*, 'when they ſaw themſelves reduced to 'the neceſſity of ſubmitting their conduct

[h] *Hiſt. Puritt.* vol. II. p. 357.

to

‘ to the examination of an *Engliſh par-*
‘ *liament*, ſupported by an army from *Scot-*
‘ *land*, and the general diſcontents of the
‘ people. Several of the *courtiers* began to
‘ ſhift for themſelves; ſome withdrew
‘ from the ſtorm, and others having been
‘ concerned in one illegal project or other,
‘ deſerted their maſters, and made their
‘ peace, by diſcovering the King's counſels
‘ to the leading members of *parliament*;
‘ which diſabled the junto from making
‘ any conſiderable efforts for their ſafety.
‘ All men had a veneration for the perſon
‘ of the King, tho' his majeſty had loſt
‘ ground in their affections by his ill uſage
‘ of his *parliaments*, and by taking the
‘ faults of his *miniſters* upon himſelf.

‘ BUT the queen was in no manner of
‘ eſteem with them, who had the *Proteſtant*
‘ *religion* and the liberties of their coun-
‘ try at heart.

‘ THE *biſhops* had ſunk their character
‘ by their high behaviour in the ſpiritual
‘ courts; ſo that they had nothing to expect
‘ but that their wings ſhould be clipp'd. And
‘ the *judges* were deſpiſed and hated for
‘ abandoning the laws of their country,
‘ and giving a ſanction to the illegal pro-
‘ ceedings of the *council* and *ſtar-chamber*.
‘ As his Majeſty had but few friends of cre-
‘ dit or intereſt among the people at home,
‘ ſo he had nothing to expect from abroad.
‘ *France* and *Spain* were pleaſed with his
‘ diſtreſs,

'diſtreſs. The foreign *Proteſtants* wiſhed 'well to the oppreſſed people of *England*. 'They publiſhed their reſentments againſt 'the *biſhops* for their hard uſage of the *Dutch* 'and *French* congregations; and gave it as 'their opinion, that a *Proteſtant* king that 'countenanc'd *Papiſts*, and at the ſame 'time drove his *Proteſtant* ſubjects out of 'the kingdom, was not worthy the aſſiſt-'ance of the reformed churches, eſpecially 'after he had renounced communion with 'them, and declared openly that the reli-'gion of the church of *England* was not 'the ſame with that of the foreign *Pro-'teſtants*.'

MR. *Whitelock* obſerves[1], that tho' the court labour'd to bring in their friends, yet thoſe who had moſt favour with them, had leaſt in the country: And it was not a little ſtrange to ſee what a ſpirit of oppoſition to the court-proceedings was in the hearts and actions of moſt of the people; ſo that very few of that *party* had the favour of being choſen *members* of this *parliament*.

The earl of *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this *parliament*, admits that there were many great and worthy patriots in the houſe, and as eminent as any age had ever produced, men of gravity, of wiſdom, of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been ſatisfy'd with ſome few amend- Clarendon's *account of them.*

[1] *Pag.* 37.

ments

ments in church and ſtate. As to their religion, ſays this noble *hiſtorian*[k], 'They 'were all members of the eſtabliſh'd *church*, 'and almoſt to a man for epiſcopal govern-'ment; tho' they were undevoted enough 'to the *court*, they had all imaginable du-'ty for the king, and affection for the go-'vernment eſtabliſh'd by law or antient 'cuſtom; and without doubt the majority 'of that body were perſons of gravity and 'wiſdom, who being poſſeſſed of great and 'plentiful fortunes, had no mind to break 'the peace of the kingdom, or to make 'any conſiderable alterations in the govern-'ment of the church or ſtate.'

DR. *Welwood* affirms[l], that no age produced greater men than thoſe that ſat in this parliament.

And Lewis Du Moulin.

DR. *Lewis du Moulin*, who lived thro' theſe times ſays: 'That both lords and com-'mons were moſt, if not all, peaceable, 'orthodox church of *England* men; all con-'forming to the rites and ceremonies of '*epiſcopacy*, but greatly averſe to *Popery* 'and *Tyranny*, and to the corrupt part of 'the church, that inclined towards *Rome*.'

'THIS is further evident, ſays Mr. *Neal*[m], 'from their own order of *Nov.* 20, 1640. 'that none ſhould ſit in their houſe but 'ſuch as would receive the communion ac-

[k] *Vol.* I. p. 184.
[l] *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 42.

'cording

'cording to the uſage of the church of 'England.'

THE difference between the king and this parliament put a ſtop to the hot perſecution which had hitherto been carry'd on againſt the *Diſſenters*; ſo that men might now judge freely in matters of religion, and every one purſued the ſentiments of his own mind without danger. *Perſecution abated.*

Antipædobaptiſm had not been without its *proſelytes* in the worſt of times, but now it began very much to prevail; and thoſe of that *perſuaſion* having ſeparated themſelves, and formed diſtinct ſocieties, were become ſeveral churches of this opinion in *London*, beſides thoſe that continued in communion with *Pædobaptiſts*.

IT ſeems to have been about this time, that Mr. *Baxter* became firſt acquainted with any of this opinion; of whom he gives an account in theſe words[n], *viz.* *Baxter's firſt acquaintance with the Baptiſts.*

'WHILST I was at *Glouceſter*, I ſaw 'the firſt contentions between the *Mini-'ſters* and *Anabaptiſts*, that ever I was ac-'quainted with; for theſe were the firſt '*Anabaptiſts* that ever I had ſeen in any 'country, and I heard but of few more in 'thoſe parts of *England*. About a dozen 'young men, or more, of conſiderable 'parts, had received the opinion againſt '*infant-baptiſm*, and were re-baptized, and

[m] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 362.
[n] *Life and Time*, p. 41. Part I.

'laboured

'laboured to draw others after them, not 'far from *Glouceſter*, and the miniſter of 'the place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and 'impatient with them, harden'd them the 'more: He wrote a conſiderable book a-'gainſt them at that time; but *England* 'having then no great experience of the 'tendency and conſequence of *Anabap-'tiſtry*, the people that were not of their 'opinion did but pity them, and think it 'was a conceit that had no great harm in 'it, and blamed Mr. *Winnel* for his vio-'lence and aſperity towards them.'

Dr. Featley's *account of them.*

THE great increaſe of the *Baptiſts* about this time, is acknowledged and bewailed by their adverſaries. Dr. *Featly* ſays [o], 'This 'fire in the reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and 'King *James*, and our gracious ſovereign, 'till now was cover'd in *England* under the 'aſhes; or if it brake out at any time, by 'the care of the eccleſiaſtical and civil *ma-'giſtrates* it was ſoon put out. But of 'late, ſince the unhappy diſtractions which 'our ſins have brought upon us, the tem-'poral ſword being other ways employed, 'and the ſpiritual lock'd up faſt in the 'ſcabbard, this *ſect*, among others, hath 'ſo far preſumed upon the patience of the 'ſtate, that it hath held weekly conven-'ticles, re-baptized hundreds of men and 'women together in the twilight, in *ri-*

[o] *Dippers dipp'd, pr face.*

vulets

'*vulets* and ſome arms of the *Thames*, and 'elſewhere, dipping them over head and 'ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in 'defence of their hereſy; yea, and chal-'lenged ſome of our *preachers* to diſpu-'tation.'

IT was, ſays Dr. *Wall* [p], 'During the 'rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. and the 'uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, that this 'opinion began to have any great number 'of converts to it. In thoſe times of ſtirs 'they boaſted in their books, that that pro-'phecy was fulfilled, *Many ſhall run to and* 'fro, *and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.*' Dr. Wall's *account of them.* Dan. xiii. 4.

Jan. 18. 1640-1, ſays Mr. *Fuller* [q], 'This 'day happen'd the firſt fruits of *Anabap-*'*tiſtical* inſolence; when eighty of that 'ſect meeting at a houſe in St. *Saviours* in 'Southwark, preached, that the ſtatute in 'the 35th of *Elizabeth*, for the admini-'ſtration of the *Common-prayer*, was no 'good law, becauſe made by *biſhops*; that 'the king cannot make a good law, be-'cauſe not perfectly *regenerate*; that he 'was only to be obeyed in civil matters. 'Being brought before the *lords*, they con-'feſſed the articles, but no penalty was in-'flicted upon them.' But this is a very imperfect and partial account of this mat- Fuller's *account of them.*

[p] *Hiſt. Bap.* vol. II. p. 214.
[q] *Church Hiſt. Book* XI. p. 172

tch, as appears by the church-book, or journal kept by this people.

IT was not an *Anabaptist* but an *Independent* congregation, tho' there might be some few among them holding that opinion. They met in *Deadman's-place*, having at that time one Mr. *Stephen More* for their pastor; and being assembled on the Lord's-day, for religious worship as usual, tho' not with their former secrecy, they were discovered and taken, and by Sir *John Lenthal*, the marshal of the *King's-bench*, committed to the *Clink* prison.

THE next morning six or seven of the men were by an order from above, carried up to the house of Lords. It was alledged against them, as *Fuller* says, that they had preached against the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and against the Statute of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, that establishes the Common-prayer, and forbids all assembling for religious worship, where it is not used.

THE lords examined them strictly concerning their principles; and they as freely acknowledged, that they owned no other head of the church but Jesus Christ; that no prince had power to make laws to bind the consciences of men; and that laws made contrary to the law of God were of no force.

A's

As things now ſtood, the lords could by no means diſcountenance theſe principles; and therefore, inſtead of inflicting any penalty, they treated them with a great deal of reſpect and civility: and ſome of the houſe enquired, where the place of their meeting was, and intimated, that they would come and hear them. And accordingly three or four of the *Peers* did go to their meeting on the Lord's-day following, to the great ſurprize and wonder of many. The people went on in their uſual method, having two ſermons; in both which they treated of thoſe principles for which they had been accuſed, grounding their diſcourſes on the words of our Saviour, *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth.* After this they received the Lord's ſupper, and then made a collection for the *poor*; to which the lords contributed liberally with them; and at their departure ſignify'd their ſatisfaction in what they had heard and ſeen, and their inclination to come again. But this made too much noiſe, and gave too great an alarm to the mob, for them to venture a ſecond time. And perhaps this was the firſt diſſenting meeting, that ever had ſo great an honour done it. Matth. xxviii. 18.

THIS church, as appears by their records, was conſtituted about the year 1621. The firſt paſtor thereof was one Mr. *Hubbard*, or *Herbert*, a learned man, of epiſcopal or-

dination; who having left the church of *England*, took upon him the paſtoral care of this church, and with them went into *Ireland*, and there died. They returned again into *England*, and ſettled about *London*; and choſe Mr. *John Cann* (famous for filling up a bible with marginal notes, much valued to this day) to be their paſtor; who attended that ſervice for ſome time, and at length, with ſome of the members, left the church, and went to *Amſterdam*, and there continued with the *Engliſh* church many years: and tho' he came into *England* afterwards, yet he returned to *Amſterdam*, and there died. After his deceaſe, the church here choſe Mr. *Samuel How*, who was a *Baptiſt*, tho' his predeceſſors were not; for this church ſeems from the beginning, or at leaſt very early, to have kept mix'd communion.

HE ſerved in this miniſtration about ſeven years, and died very much lamented. In his time they were perſecuted beyond meaſure by the clergy and biſhops courts; and he dying under the ſentence of excommunication, chriſtian burial, as it was termed, was denied him; and a conſtable's guard ſecured the pariſh ground at *Shoreditch*, to prevent his being buried there. At length he was buried at *Agnes-la-cleer*; and ſeveral of his members, according to their deſire, were afterwards interred there alſo. He wrote that little book ſo often printed, called

called *How's Sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching*, &c. and was very famous for his vindication of the doctrines of ſeparation; and both he and his people were much haraſſed for it by their enemies, and were forc'd to meet together in fields and woods to avoid them. It was ſome conſiderable time after his deceaſe, that the church choſe Mr. *Stephen Moore*; who was their paſtor when the diſturbance happened which is mentioned by *Fuller*. He ſeems to have been a *Pædobaptiſt*; had been a deacon of their church, as appears by their records; was well gifted for the work of the miniſtry, and a man of good reputation, and poſſeſſed of an eſtate.

Some famous writers ſpeak favourably of the Engliſh Baptiſts.

IT contributed not a little to the increaſe of *Antipædobaptiſm* in theſe times, that ſome of the greateſt writers for reformation ſpoke favourably of that opinion, and the reaſonableneſs of granting liberty to thoſe that held it.

The right honourable Robert *lord* Brook.

THE right honourable *Robert* lord *Brook*, wrote a treatiſe [1] about this time, wherein he gives this favourable account of the *Anabaptiſts* and their opinion.

'I MUST confeſs, ſays he, I begin to 'think, there may be perhaps ſomewhat 'more of God in theſe which they call '*new ſchiſms*, than appears at firſt glimpſe.

[1] *Epiſcopacy*, p. 96.

'I will not, I cannot, take on me to de-
'fend that which men uſually call *Ana-*
'*baptiſm*; yet I conceive, that *ſect* is two-
'fold: ſome of them hold free-will, com-
'munity of all things, deny magiſtracy,
'and refuſe to baptize their children; theſe
'truly are ſuch *hereticks* or *atheiſts*, that
'I queſtion whether any divine ſhould
'honour them ſo much as to diſpute with
'them: Much rather ſure ſhould *Alexan-*
'*der*'s ſword determine here, as of old at
'the gordian knot, where it required this
'motto, *Quæ ſolvere non poſſum, diſſe-*
'*cabo*; what I cannot untie, I will cut
'aſunder.

'THERE is another ſort of them who
'only deny baptiſm to their children till they
'come to the years of diſcretion, and then
'they baptize them; but in other things
'they agree with the church of *England*.
'Truly theſe men are much to be pitied,
'and I could heartily wiſh, that before they
'are ſtigmatized with the opprobrious brand
'of *ſchiſmaticks*, the truth might be clear'd
'to them; for I conceive, to thoſe that
'hold we may go no further than Scrip-
'ture, for doctrine or diſcipline, it may
'be very eaſy to err in this point now in
'hand, ſince the Scripture ſeems not to
'have clearly determined in this matter.

'THE analogy which baptiſm now hath
'with circumciſion in the old law, ſays
'this

'this *noble lord*[s], is a fine rational argument
'to illuſtrate a point well proved before;
'but I ſomewhat doubt whether it be
'proof enough for that which ſome
'would prove by it, ſince beſides the vaſt
'difference in the ordinance, the perſons
'to be circumciſed, are ſtated by a poſitive
'law, ſo expreſs, that it leaves no place for
'ſcruple; but it is far otherwiſe in bap-
'tiſm, where all the deſignation of per-
'ſons fit to be partakers, for ought I
'know, is only ſuch as believe, for this is
'the qualification which with exacteſt
'ſearch I find the Scripture requires in per-
'ſons to be baptized; and this it ſeems to
'require in all ſuch perſons. Now how
'infants can properly be ſaid to believe,
'I am not yet fully reſolved.'

Mr. Daniel Rogers.

MR. *Daniel Rogers*, a divine of very great fame in theſe times, made a publick confeſſion to the world, in his book of the *Sacrament*[t], that he was yet unconvinced by any demonſtration of Scripture, for *infant baptiſm*.

Biſhop Taylor.

DR. *Jeremy Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, was another who very much promoted the opinion of *Antipædobaptiſm*, by this method. He wrote a treatiſe, when religion was in this unſettled ſtate, called the *Liberty of propheſying*; wherein he ſhews

[s] *Danvers*, p. 176.
[t] Part I. p. 79.

the unreasonableness of prescribing to other mens faith, and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions. For the church clergy were against *persecution*, when it came to be their turn to bear it.

AMONG many other excellent arguments to this purpose, he makes use of this, *viz.*

THAT many opinions, condemned as erroneous, had a great probability of truth on their side; at least so much might be said for them, as to sway the conscience of many honest enquirers after truth, and abate the edge of their fury, who suppose they are deceived.

FOR this purpose, he particularly considers the opinion of *Antipædobaptism*; and under a pretence of reciting what may be said for that error, as he calls it, draws up a very elaborate system of arguments against *infant-baptism*, and sets it forth with such advantage of style, that he was thought to have said more for the *Baptists* than they were able to say for themselves.

The Pædobaptists *displeased therewith.*

DR. *Hammond* declared to the world [u] 'That it is the most diligent collection 'and the most exact scheme of the arguments against *infant-baptism*, that he 'had ever met with; and that he has therein 'in such manner represented the arguments

[u] *Six cases Infant-baptism, sect.* 49. 139.
[w] *Wall's Inf. Bap.* vol. II. p. 16.

'for

'for and against, that the latter have 'seemed to many to be successful and 'victorious.'

[x] OTHERS suspect him of being a real favourer of that opinion, and designing to promote it, and therefore call upon him, in the words of *Joshua* to the man with his drawn sword: *Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?* Joshua v. 13.

SO much were the advocates of *Infant-Baptism* alarmed and enraged at this performance, that they compared him to an unfaithful subject, who for private ends and interest carries arms and ammunition to known and professed enemies; and they complained of it in the words of the prophet, *Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends.* Nay, a batchelor in divinity has the assurance to call so great and learned a man to repentance and recantation.

'[y] WHAT this *author*'s counsel was, 'thus to write, that which himself con-'demns, ——I know not; but do heartily 'wish, that if he have not yet *repented* 'of digging this pit, whereinto divers have 'fallen, not without great and apparent 'hazard to their souls, he timely may. If 'he have come to some second better 'thoughts, he may do commendably to 'cover it with some seasonable endeavour

[x] *Readings antidotes pref.*

[y] *Ibid. id.*

'that

'that no more may fall by the ſtumbling-'block which he hath laid before them.

SOME of the greateſt divines of thoſe times ſet themſelves to anſwer him, but ſuſpecting the inſufficiency of all other anſwers, would not let the learned biſhop reſt, till he had anſwered himſelf alſo. Yet it is the opinion of ſome, he could never remove the difficulties which he had advanced.

An. Dom. 1643. *The* Baptiſts *publiſh a Confeſſion of faith.*

THERE were ſeveral books wrote about this time by the *Baptiſts* themſelves, in defence of their principles; and in the year 1643. they publiſhed a *confeſſion of their faith*, becauſe it was the conſtant practice of their oppoſers to repreſent them as a people that held moſt dangerous errors, beſides their denial of *infant-baptiſm*; and they were frequently termed both from the pulpit and preſs, *Pelagians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Soul-ſleepers*, and the like.

BUT in this they clear themſelves fully of all theſe erroneous *tenets*, and ſhew their near agreement with all other chriſtians and proteſtants, in the fundamental points of religion. It is the firſt that was ever publiſhed by the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, and contains fifty two articles; the which you may find in the *appendix* N° 2. The *Baptiſts* never did any thing that more effectually cleared them from the charge of being dangerous *hereticks*, than this did. There were ſeveral *editions* publiſhed in 1644.

1644. and 1646. one of which was licenſed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of ſeveral members[z].

THEIR greateſt *adverſaries* were forc'd to acknowledge it was in general an *orthodox confeſſion*, and could object little againſt it, except the denial of *infant-baptiſm*, and making *immerſion* neceſſary to the right adminiſtration of that ordinance. *Is acknowledged to be orthodox*

DR. *Featly*, who writ with no ſmall prejudice againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, ſays [a], 'If we 'give credit to this *confeſſion*, and the *pre-* 'face thereof, thoſe who among us are 'branded with that title, are neither *Here-* 'ticks nor *Schiſmaticks*, but tender-hearted 'Chriſtians, upon whom, thro' falſe ſug- 'geſtions, the hand of authority fell heavy 'whilſt the *hierarchy* ſtood; for they nei- 'ther teach free-will, nor falling-away 'from grace, with the *Arminians*; nor 'deny original ſin, with the *Pelagians*; nor 'diſclaim magiſtracy, with the *Jeſuits*; 'nor maintain plurality of wives, with the 'Polygamiſts; nor community of goods, with 'the *Apoſtolici*; nor going naked, with the 'Adamites; much leſs aver the mortality 'of the ſoul, with *Epicures* and *Pſychopan-* 'nychiſts.' *By Dr.* Featly,

MR. *John Marſhall*, one of the aſſembly of divines, and a great oppoſer of the *Bap-* *Mr.* Marſhal.

[z] *Edwards's Gangræna*, part I. p. 184.
[a] *Dippers dipp'd*, p. 177.

tiſt

tists in those times, says of this confession[b], 'I acknowledge it the most orthodox of any 'Anabaptist confession I ever read.' And we may very well believe him; for the *English Baptists* never had the liberty of publishing their faith before; and those in foreign parts are indeed represented as very *heterodox* by their enemies. He tells a story, in order to dissuade his *readers* from believing the *Baptists* in this confession of their faith, which I have not met with in any other *author*, and deserves our notice. The story is as follows:

'THAT the *Anabaptists* of *Munster*, 'in the beginning of their schism, set 'forth a confession of faith every way as 'orthodox as that which you * mention of 'the seven churches of the *Anabaptists* 'of *London*, as I am credibly inform'd by a 'reverend and learned divine, who hath 'many years ago both seen and read it 'in *Germany*;' and in the margin puts the name of Mr. *Dury*.

* *Mr.* Tombes.

Remarks. WELL then, when the *Anabaptists* in *Germany* had the liberty to publish their own faith, they appear'd a very *orthodox* people; but after they had been driven to great hardships, and at length conquer'd in war, their triumphant enemies describe them to be a wicked and erroneous sect.

[b] *Defence infant-baptism*, p. 76.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 74.

BUT

BUT ſuppoſe they were guilty of all thoſe errors or mad pranks that were charg'd upon them after this *orthodox confeſſion*; muſt no others then be believed, when they make a ſolemn confeſſion of their faith. The *Engliſh Baptiſts* have not only kept to this firſt confeſſion of their faith, but have rather improved both in their faith and piety; ſo that now theſe inſinuations are confuted by fact.

IT may be proper to obſerve here, that there have been two *parties* of the *Engliſh Baptiſts* in *England* ever ſince the beginning of the reformation; thoſe that have followed the *Calviniſtical* ſcheme of doctrines, and from the principal point therein, *perſonal election*, have been termed *Particular Baptiſts*: And thoſe that have profeſſed the *Arminian* or remonſtrant tenets; and have alſo from the chief of thoſe doctrines, *univerſal redemption*, been called *General Baptiſts*.

I SHALL not trouble myſelf to enquire into the reaſons for their thus diſtinguiſhing themſelves, ſo as to hold diſtinct communities thereupon; the ſame differing principles being common to all the denominations of Chriſtians as well as them. But thus much I think fit to declare, that I am fully perſuaded, and clearly of opinion, that this difference in opinion is not a ſufficient or reaſonable ground of renouncing chri-

chriſtian communion with one another, and therefore have not in the courſe of this hiſtory, lean'd either to one ſide or the other, but have taken facts as they came to my hands, without regarding to which of the parties they were peculiar. And I know that there are ſeveral churches, miniſters, and many particular perſons, among the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, who deſire not to go under the name either of *Generals* or *Particulars*, nor indeed can juſtly *be ranked under either of theſe heads*; *becauſe they* receive what they think to be truth, without regarding with what human ſchemes it agrees or diſagrees.

THAT worthy judge and excellent divine Sir *Matthew Hale*, Knt. lord chief juſtice of the *King's-bench*, treating of the great work of our redemption, what it is, how effected, and for whom; concludes thus: 'Now, ſays he [d], concerning thoſe 'ſeveral places in holy ſcripture, that ſeem 'to infer the univerſality of an intended 'redemption, *John* iii. 17. *John* xii. 47. '1 *John* ii. 2. 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. 1 *Tim.* ii. 4. '1 *Cor.* xv. 21. it may be conſiderable 'whether the intention of thoſe places be, 'that the price was ſufficient for all the 'world; ſo that whoſoever ſhall reject the 'offered mercy, ſhall never have this ex'cuſe, that there was not a ſufficiency left 'for him: Or whether it be meant, that 'Chriſt by his death did fully expiate for

[d] *Knowledge of God*, &c. p. 230.

all

'all that original guilt, which was contracted by the fall of *Adam* upon all mankind, but for the actual offences only of such as believed; that so, as the voluntary sin of *Adam* had, without the actual consent of his posterity, made them liable to guilt, so the satisfaction of Christ, without any application of him, should discharge all mankind from that originally contracted guilt. These disquisitions, says he, tho' fit, yet are not necessary to be known; it is enough for me to know, that if *I believe on him, I shall not perish, but have everlasting life*, John iii. 16. and that all are invited, and none excluded, but such as first exclude themselves.'

An. Dom. 1644. *Persecution of the Baptists.*

But to come to the persecution that was practised in these times upon those who were termed *Anabaptists*. It is a subject, I am sensible, will be ungrateful to the ears of many, and perhaps very ill improved by others. I could willingly have ended here, but, however, it is the duty of an *historian* to give a true account of things, and let the blame of them fall on whom it will; and this work would be very defective, if I should not take notice of the hardships and sufferings that the *Baptists* underwent in those times, even under those who both before and since have been their *brethren* in dissenting from the establish'd church, and suffering for it also. Nor can this be any just Reflection on the present

Pres-

Preſbyterians, who do as much diſlike, and deteſt ſuch principles and practices as we can ourſelves.

Preſbyterians againſt liberty of conſcience, and a toleration.

NOTHING is more evident than this, that the moſt noted divines of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion, when they had the aſcendant, did both preach and write zealouſly againſt *liberty* of *conſcience*, or a *toleration* of different opinions in matters of religion; and that at the ſame time that they endeavoured to eſtabliſh *Preſbytery*, they were for uſing the *civil power* to ſuppreſs all who diſſented from them.

SEVERAL paſſages to this purpoſe are collected by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, in his treatiſe entitled, *The Diſſenters Sayings*, and by a late pamphlet entitled, *Schiſm tried and condemn'd by the ſentiments of the moſt eminent writers among the Diſſenters.*

Mr. Calamy *declares againſt it.*

THERE was hardly a divine of greater fame in thoſe days, than Mr. *Calamy* of *Aldermanbury*: And he in a ſermon before the houſe of commons, *Oct.* 22. 1644. ſays to them thus [e], 'If you do not labour 'according to your duty and power to ſuppreſs the *errors* and *hereſies* that are ſpread 'in the kingdom, all theſe *errors* are your 'errors, and theſe *hereſies* are your *hereſies*; 'they are your ſins, and God calls for a parliamentary repentance from you for them 'this day. You are the *Anabaptiſts*, you 'are the *Antinomians*, and 'tis you that

[e] *Schiſm try'd and condemn'd*, p. 9.

'hold

'hold that all religions are to be tole-
'rated, &c.'

DR. *Burgeſs* to the commons, *Apr.* 30. 1645. after he had admoniſhed them to beware of compliances with, and indulgences to all ſorts of *ſects* and *ſchiſms* then pleaded for, ſays[f]: *Alſo Dr. Burgeſs. An. Dom. 1645.*

'AND is it perſecution and antichriſtia-
'niſm to engage all to *unity* and *uniformity*? Doth *Paul* bid the *Philippians* to *beware of the conciſion*? doth he beſeech the *Romans to mark thoſe which cauſe diviſion and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had received, and avoid them*, &c. doth he, writing to the *Galatians*, wiſh, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*; and is it ſuch an heinous offence now, for the faithful ſervants of Chriſt to adviſe you to the ſame courſe? *Oh heavens!*' Phil. iii. 2. Gal. v. 12.

THE famous Mr. *Baxter*, tho' more moderate than many, yet was not wholly free in this point. *And Mr. Baxter.*

IN his firſt book againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, he ſays[g]: 'The diviſions and havock of the 'church is our calamity; we intended not 'to dig down the banks, or to pull up the 'hedge, and lay all waſte and common, 'when we deſired the *prelates tyranny* 'might ceaſe.

[f] *Ibidem*, p. 12, 13.
[g] *Plain Scrip. Proof*, p. 151.

'[h] AGAIN, my judgment in that much 'debated point of *liberty* of religion, I have 'always freely made known, *I abhor un-* 'limited liberty, or *toleration of all.*

AND in his cure of church-diviſions, he ſays; 'We muſt either tolerate all men 'to do what they will, which they will 'make a matter of conſcience or religion; 'and then ſome may offer their *children* in 'ſacrifice to the *devil*, and ſome may think 'they do God ſervice in killing his ſervants, '*&c.* or elſe you muſt tolerate no *error* or '*fault* in religion; and then you muſt ad- 'viſe what meaſure of *penalty* you will in- 'flict.'

Mr. Prynn. MORE plain ſtill was Mr. *Prynn*, who in his anſwer to *John Goodwin* ſays:

'IF the parliament and ſynod ſhall by 'publick conſent eſtabliſh a *Preſbyterial* 'church-government, as moſt conſonant to 'God's word; *Independents* and all others 'are bound in *conſcience* to ſubmit unto it, 'under the pain of obſtinacy, ſingularity, '*&c.*'

Mr. *Edwards.* MR. *Edwards*, lecturer at *Chriſt-Church*, a moſt inveterate enemy to the *ſectarians*, as he terms them, directs both *miniſters* and *magiſtrates* how they ſhould act to eſtabliſh *Preſbytery* without liberty of conſcience to others: and as if he had the pen

[h] *Page* 246.
[i] *Diſſenters Sayings*, Part II. p. 2.
[k] *Ibidem*, p. 5.

of

of an inſpired writer, predicts the conſequences of granting a *toleration*. All which is now confuted by fact, and he appears to have been a lying prophet; for the experience which theſe nations have had is argument ſufficient, that *toleration* of different opinions is ſo far from diſturbing the publick peace, or deſtroying the intereſts of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the publick, and ſecures peace. This author in the epiſtle dedicatory to his book, entitled *Gangrena*, calls upon the higher powers to rain down all their vengeance on the *ſectaries*: And to ſhew his malice againſt them, he ſays[1]; 'That *miniſters* in our times may be a means to 'prevent and ſuppreſs *errors*, *hereſies*, and '*ſchiſms*, they muſt not only often preach 'againſt them, but they ſhould ſet themſelves againſt all the ways by which *errors* are come in, and are further coming 'in upon us, and oppoſe them by preaching and writing; as laymens preaching, 'the gathering of churches, and above all 'a *toleration*; for that would be an open 'door at which all kinds of *hereſies* would 'come in, and no man could keep them 'out: And therefore if *miniſters* will witneſs for truth, and againſt errors, they 'muſt ſet themſelves in a ſpecial manner 'againſt a *toleration*, as the principal inlet to

[1] *Gangræna*, Part I. p. 85.

'all *hereſy* and *error*: And if a *toleration* 'be granted, all preaching will not keep 'them out. If a *toleration* be granted, the 'devil will be too hard for us, though we 'preach never ſo much againſt them. A '*toleration* will undo all; firſt bring in 'ſcepticiſm in doctrine and looſeneſs of life, 'and afterwards all atheiſm. The patrons 'of *error*, becauſe they cannot at firſt plead 'for ſuch and ſuch doctrines, *in terminis*, 'and yet hold them, and would have them 'propagated, therefore they plead for a '*toleration*; which once being granted, 'they will come in then of courſe: O let 'the *miniſters* therefore oppoſe *toleration*, 'as being that by which the devil would 'at once lay a foundation for his kingdom 'to all generations! witneſs againſt it in 'all places; poſſeſs the *magiſtrates* of the 'evil of it; yea, and the people too; ſhew-'ing them, how if a *toleration* were grant-'ed, they ſhould never have peace in their 'families more, or ever after have com-'mand of wives, children, ſervants, but 'they and their poſterities after them, are 'like to live in diſcontent and unquiet-'neſs of mind all their days. 'Tis the 'ſaying of *Luther*, ſays he, that *miniſters 'firſt care ought to be the name of God, 'and the next, of the ſalvation of others. 'When any thing is done, by which of neceſ-'ſity either of theſe muſt ſuffer, and fall to 'the ground; let the Pope periſh, let wicked* magi-

'*magiſtrates periſh, let the patrons of wick-*
'*ed opinions periſh, let the whole world pe-*
'*riſh, and let God's glory, his word, his*
'*church, his worſhip be ſaved,* Amen. Now
'neither of theſe can be ſafe, ſays Mr. *Ed-*
'*wards*, if there ſhould be a *toleration*; for
'a *toleration* is very deſtructive to the glory
'of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls; and
'therefore whoſoever ſhould be for a *tole-*
'*ration*, *miniſters* ought to be againſt it:
'if the parliament, city, yea, all the peo-
'ple were for a *toleration* of all the *ſects*,
'*Anabaptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Seekers*, *Brown-*
'*iſts*, *Independents* (which I ſpeak, not to
'caſt the leaſt aſperſion upon them, as if
'they would be, for I believe the contrary)
'but ſuppoſing it; yet *miniſters* ought to
'preſent their reaſons againſt it, preach
'and cry out of the evil of it, never conſent
'to it, but proteſt againſt and withſtand it,
'by all lawful ways and means, within our
'callings and places, venturing the loſs of
'liberties, eſtates, lives, and all, in that
'cauſe, and to inflame us with zeal againſt
'a TOLERATION, the great *Diana* of the
'*ſectaries*.

'Now, ſays he [m], the oppoſing the *ſects* of
'theſe times, and that great deſire of a *tole-*
'*ration* of all religions, pleaded for ſo much
'by many, are points will bear us out be-
'fore God; and all who come after us (if

[m] *Ibid.* p. 92.

'ever a *toleration* ſhould be granted) will ſay, 'when they ſee and feel the miſchiefs of a '*toleration*, theſe were good and wiſe men, 'that had their eyes in their heads, and 'look'd afar off. As often as new evils 'ariſe in the kingdom upon a *toleration*, 'this which they have done againſt a *tole-* '*ration* will be ſpoken with honour of 'them throughout all generations, and in 'other chriſtian kingdoms.

'[n] *Miniſters* muſt pray much to God, 'and call upon him night and day, that he 'would prevent and caſt out of his church 'all the *errors*, *hereſies*, *roots of bitterneſs*, '*poiſonous principles* got in among us, and 'to give a miſcarrying womb to the *ſecta-* '*ries*, that they may never bring forth that 'miſhappen baſtard-monſter of a TOLE-'RATION.'

HE directs the *magiſtrates*, and tells them, '[o] They ſhould execute ſome exemplary pu-'niſhment upon ſome of the moſt notorious '*ſectaries* and ſeducers, and upon the wil-'ful abettors of theſe abominable errors; 'namely, the printers, diſperſers, and licen-'ſers, and ſet themſelves with all their 'hearts to find out ways to take ſome 'courſe to ſuppreſs, hinder, and no longer 'ſuffer theſe things; to put out ſome decla-'ration againſt the errors and ways of the '*ſectaries*; as their ſending emiſſaries in-

[n] *Page* 93.
[o] *Page* 98.

'to

'to all parts of the kingdom, to poiſon 'the countries; as their *dipping* of perſons 'in the cold water in winter, whereby 'perſons fall ſick, die, &c. declaring, that 'they ſhall be proceeded againſt as *vagrants* 'and *rogues*, that go from country to coun-'try; and if any fall ſick upon their *dip-'ping* and die, they ſhall be indicted upon 'the ſtatute of killing the king's ſubjects, 'and proceeded againſt accordingly.

THUS he particularly inveighs againſt the *Baptiſts*, and in another place carries his reſentment againſt them much higher. For ſays he [p], 'I could wiſh with all my heart, 'there were a publick diſputation, even in 'the point of *pædobaptiſm* and of *dipping*, 'between ſome of the *Anabaptiſts*, and 'ſome of our *miniſters*. But if upon diſ-'putation and debate, the *Anabaptiſts* ſhould 'be found in an *error*, as I am confident 'they would, that then the parliament 'ſhould forbid all *dipping*, and take ſome 'ſevere courſe with all *Dippers*, as the ſe-'nate of *Zurick* did.' *More particularly againſt the* Baptiſts.

THE precedent he refers to plainly diſcovers the ſpirit of the man. And he might well call it ſome *ſevere courſe*. For an *edict* was publiſhed at *Zurick* in the year 1530. making it *death* for any to baptize by *immerſion*; upon which law, ſome call'd *Anabaptiſts* were ty'd back to back, and thrown *Remark.*

[p] *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 177.

into the ſea, others were *burnt alive*, and many ſtarved to *death* in priſon.

BUT enough of the ſpirit and principles of perſecution as it then appeared in particular perſons. We find that whole communities of men, both *layety* and *clergy*, declared againſt *liberty of conſcience*, and petitioned for *perſecution*.

The city of London *petition againſt it.*

ON the 26th of *May*, 1646. the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common-council, preſented a petition to the parliament, uſually called *the city remonſtrance*; in which they deſired, 'That ſome ſtrict 'and ſpeedy courſe might be taken for the 'ſuppreſſing all private and ſeparate congregations; that all *Anabaptiſts*, *Brownifts*, *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks*, *Blaſphemers*, and all other *Sectaries*, who conform not to the publick diſcipline eſtabliſhed, or to be eſtabliſhed by parliament, may be fully declared againſt, 'and ſome effectual courſe ſettled for proceeding againſt ſuch perſons; and that 'no perſon diſaffected to *Preſbyterial* government, ſet forth or to be ſet forth by 'parliament, may be employed in any place 'of publick truſt.'

The aſſembly of divines againſt it, and appoint a committee of accommodation.

HOWEVER, the *clergy* went before the *layety* in theſe *rigid* methods, and ſo led them the way. For when *preſbytery* was about to be eſtabliſhed, the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter* appointed a committee to hear and anſwer the petitions of

thoſe

those who could not conform to the government. This was called *the committee for accommodation.*

To these the *Independants* presented their requeſt, *Dec.* 4. 1645. which was only this: *The Independents requeſt to the committee, An. Dom. 1645.*

'[q] THAT they may not be forced to communicate as members in thoſe pariſhes 'where they dwell; but may have liberty 'to have congregations of ſuch perſons 'who give good teſtimonies of their godlineſs, and yet out of a tenderneſs of 'conſcience cannot communicate in their '*pariſhes*, but do voluntarily offer themſelves to join in ſuch congregations.'

To this the aſſembly gave a flat denial, *Dec.* 15. and annexed their reaſons why ſuch a deſire was not to be granted. The *Independents* willing to be taken into the *eſtabliſhment*, made a very ſtrange *conceſſion* to them, *viz.* '[r] That they would maintain 'occaſional communion with their churches, 'not only in hearing and preaching, 'but occaſionally in baptizing their children, in their churches, and receiving the 'Lord's-ſupper there.' But all this would not prevail upon their *brethren* of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion to allow them ſeparate congregations. They rather improved this *denied.* *Their conceſſion.*

[q] *Schiſm tried and condemned*, 25.
[r] *Ibidem*, p. 27.

compliance, to ſtrengthen their arguments againſt granting ſuch a liberty.

Argued againſt.

'IF, ſay they, they may occaſionally 'exerciſe theſe acts of communion with us 'once, a ſecond, or a third time, with-'out ſin; we know no reaſon why it may 'not be ordinary without ſin, and then 'ſeparation and church-gathering, would 'have been needleſs. To ſeparate from 'thoſe churches ordinarily and viſibly, with 'whom occaſionally you may join with-'out ſin, ſeemeth to be a moſt unjuſt ſe-'paration.'

Remark.

THIS return upon their compliance ſeems to be very juſt. But that an aſſembly of ſuch pious and grave divines, many of whom had alſo ſuffered for conſcience ſake themſelves, ſhould deny this liberty to their differing brethren, was very ſtrange. And it is yet more ſurprizing to find them uſe ſuch arguments as theſe for it: 's 'That 'this opened a gap for all *ſects* to challenge 'ſuch a liberty as their due: That this 'liberty was denied by the churches 'of *New-England*, and that they have 'as juſt ground to deny it as they: t 'That 'this deſired forbearance is a perpetual 'diviſion in the church, and a perpetual 'drawing away from the churches under 'the rule; for upon the ſame pretence,

More againſt them

s *Ibidem*, p. 28.
t *Ibidem*, 29.
u Page 31.

'thoſe

'those who scruple *infant-baptism* may 'withdraw from their churches, and 'so separate into another congregation; 'and so in that, some practice may be 'scrupled, and they separate again. Are 'these *divisions* and *subdivisions*, say they, 'as lawful as they may be infinite? or 'must we give that respect to the errors 'of mens consciences, as to satisfy their 'scruples by allowance of this liberty to 'them? x That scruple of conscience is no 'cause of separation; nor doth it take off 'causeless separation from being schism, 'which may arise from errors of con-'science, as well as carnal and corrupt 'reason; therefore we conceive the causes 'of separation must be shewn to be such 'ex *natura rei*, as will bear it out; and 'therefore we say, that the granting the 'liberty desired will give countenance to 'schism.'

The whole body of London *ministers against a toleration.*

ANOTHER instance of the spirit of *persecution* that prevailed in these times, appeared in the whole body of the *London* ministers; for they met together, *Dec.* 18. 1645. at *Sion-College*, to draw up a letter to the assembly of divines at *Westminster*, which was also presented *Jan.* 1. following.

IN this they pretend to shew the unreasonableness, the sin, and the mischievous conse-

x *Ibidem*, p. 32.

quences

quences of granting *toleration*, or liberty of conſcience; and caſt ſeveral bitter reflections on the *Independents*, and others for deſiring it; but their principles and ſpirit will be ſufficiently diſcovered, by citing a paſſage or two in the concluſion.

'THESE, ſay they, are ſome of the 'many conſiderations which make a deep 'impreſſion on our ſpirits againſt that great 'Diana of *Independents*, and all the *ſecta-* 'ries, ſo much cried up by them, in theſe 'diſtracted times, *viz.* a *toleration*, a *toler-* 'ation. We cannot diſſemble, how upon 'the forementioned grounds, we deteſt and 'abhor the much endeavoured *toleration*. 'Our bowels, our bowels are ſtirred with- 'in us, and we could even drown ourſelves in 'tears, when we call to mind how long 'and ſharp a travail this kingdom hath 'been in for many years together, to bring 'forth that bleſſed fruit of a pure and 'perfect *reformation*; and now at laſt, after 'all our pangs, and dolours, and expecta- 'tions, this real and thorough *reformation* 'is in danger of being ſtrangled in the 'birth by a lawleſs *toleration*, that ſtrives 'to be brought forth before it.'

AFTER this they pretend to pay the *aſſembly* a very great complement, which, if true, was a ſhame to them, rather than an encomium.

[y] *Ibidem*, p. 44.

'[z] NOT

'[z] NOT, say they, that we can harbour 'the least jealousy of your zeal, fidelity, 'or industry, in the opposing and extir- 'pating of such a root of gall and bitter- 'ness as *toleration* is, and will be, both in 'present and future ages.'

ANOTHER instance of the same bitter spirit appears in a book entitled, *A vindication of the Presbyterial government and ministry; with an exhortation to all ministers, elders and people, within the bounds of the province of* London, *&c. Published by the ministers and elders, met together in a provincial assembly*, Nov. 2. 1649. *and printed at* London, *according to order*, 1650. The words are these; '[a] Whatsoever doctrine is *contrary* 'to *godliness*, and opens a door to liber- 'tinism and prophaneness, you must reject 'it as *soul poison*. ——Such is the doctrine 'of an *universal toleration of all religion*.' This book in page 175. concludes thus; *Subscribed in the name and by the appointment of the assembly*:

George Walker, *Moderator.*
Arthur Jackson, } *Assessors.*
Edmund Calamy, }
Roger Drake, } *Scrib.*
Eliad Blackwell, }

[z] *Ibidem*, p. 45.
[a] Page 121.

AND

AND as face answers to face in a glass, so did the spirit of *persecution* in the country ministers answer to that which appeared in those at *London*.

The Lancashire *ministers also against it.*

THOSE in *Lancashire* published a paper in 1648. subscribed by eighty four of them, entitled, *The harmonious consent of the* Lancashire ministers *with their brethren at London*; in which are these expressions:

'[b] A *toleration* would be the putting a 'sword in a madman's hand; a *cup of* 'poison into the hand of a child; a letting 'loose of *madmen* with *firebrands* in their 'hands; and appointing a city of refuge in 'mens consciences, for the *Devil* to fly 'to; a laying of a stumbling-block before 'the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the 'wolves to come into Christ's fold, to 'prey upon the lambs: Neither would 'it be to provide for tender consciences, 'but to take away all conscience.'

And also the Warwickshire *ministers.*

IN the same year another paper was published, subscribed by forty three ministers, entituled, *The* Warwickshire *ministers testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to the solemn league and covenant; as also against the errors, heresies and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them; sent in a letter to the ministers within the province of* London, *subscribers of the former*

[b] *L'Strange Diss. Sayings*, part II. p. 1.

testi-

teſtimony. In which they expreſs themſelves thus:

Reverend and beloved brethren,

'WE, your fellow-labourers in the 'goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, within 'the city of *Coventry* and county of *War-* 'wick, have peruſed your late publick 'Teſtimony *to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt,* 'and *to our ſolemn league and covenant,* 'as alſo *againſt the errors, hereſies, and* 'blaſphemies *of theſe times, and the tolera-* 'tion *of them*; and ſo greatly are we 'affected therewith, that with our ſouls 'we bleſs the Lord God of our fathers, 'and the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'who hath put ſuch a thing as this into 'your hearts —— and further, to this 'your good confeſſion we hereby ſet our 'ſeals; withal heartily profeſſing all readi- 'neſs and reſolution to ſtick to this teſti- 'mony with you, even unto death. More- 'over, we do you to wit, that we look upon 'this your *teſtimony* as the voice of God, 'ſo to awaken all the Lord's watchmen tho- 'rough the land, that they ſhall not qui- 'etly ſuffer the enemy to ſow his tares 'among the wheat; remembring what the 'great reformer *Luther* ſaid, *It is almoſt* 'a *ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, to be meal-* 'mouthed, *when ſuch pernicious libertines* 'poiſon *the bread of the houſhold of faith.*

'And

'And for the people, we find them ſo 'heart-taken with this your ſeaſonable zeal, 'that they long for a way to give their 'publick *amen* to the ſame. Yea, we do 'for your encouragement aſſure you, that 'although the door of *liberty* ſtands in a 'manner open for every man to do what 'he will with the things of *Chriſt*, yet 'through his grace (and to his glory we 'ſpeak it) errors and ſchiſms are not very 'catching among our flocks, but they 'rather take faſter root in the faith by theſe 'religion-winds that ſhake ſome.'

THE teaching of theſe rigid principles, and preſenting ſuch zealous petitions againſt liberty of conſcience, prevailed ſo far as to procure ſeveral laws to be made for ſuppreſſing and perſecuting the *ſectaries*, that is, ſuch as would not come into the *Preſbyrian* eſtabliſhment.

An ordinance of parliament

THE firſt attempt of this nature was an *Ordinance* of *Parliament* for the ſilencing all ſuch preachers as were not *ordained miniſters*, either in the *Engliſh*, or in ſome of the foreign *Proteſtant* churches. It bore date the 26th of *April*, 1645; and run in this form.

'IT is this Day ordained and declared 'by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in 'parliament, that no perſon be admitted 'to preach, who is not ordained a mi-

[c] Hall's *pulpit guarded*, p. 31.

'niſter

'niſter, either in this or ſome other re-
'formed church, except ſuch, as intend-
'ing the miniſtry, ſhall be allowed for the
'trial of their gifts, by thoſe who ſhall
'be appointed thereunto by both houſes
of parliament.

'IT is this day ordered by the Lords
'and Commons aſſembled in parliament,
'that this *ordinance* be forthwith printed,
'and publiſhed, and ſent to Sir *Thomas*
'*Fairfax*, with an earneſt deſire and re-
'commendation from both houſes, that
'he take care that this *ordinance* may
'be duly obſerved in the *army*; and that if
'any ſhall tranſgreſs this *ordinance*, that he
'make ſpeedy repreſentation thereof to both
'houſes, that the offenders may receive con-
'dign *puniſhment* for their contempt, &c.'

The Baptiſts proſecuted thereupon.

UPON the coming forth of this *ordinance*, ſeveral *mayors*, *juſtices* and other *officers*, who longed to be at *perſecution*, apprehended ſeveral *miniſters*, who were called *Separatiſts* and *Lay-preachers*, and returned their names to the parliament, to anſwer for their contempt, among whom were ſeveral *Baptiſts*; and the parliament appointed a committee to hear and determine ſuch caſes. But they could make little of it by this law; for many of the *preachers* in ſeparate congregations had been ordained in the church of *England*, either in times of *Epiſcopacy*, or ſince *Preſbytery* had obtained the aſcendant; and thoſe

that had not, alledged, that the congregations, who had called and appointed them to preach, were true churches, and as much reformed as any in the world: nor did this *ordinance* affix the crime upon thoſe that took upon them to preach without ordination, but ſuch as ſhould admit them ſo to do; neither did it impower *magiſtrates* to take the *offenders* into cuſtody.

Another ordinance to explain the former. An. Dom. 1646.

THIS *ordinance* therefore falling ſhort of their purpoſe, another was made *Dec.* 26. 1646. which explained the former, and provided for thoſe things wherein that was defective. For in this it was expreſly ſaid: The commons aſſembled in 'parliament do declare, that they do diſlike 'and will proceed againſt all ſuch perſons 'as ſhall take upon them to preach, or expound the ſcriptures in any *church*, or 'chapel, or any other publick *place*, except 'they be ordained, either here or in ſome 'other reformed church, as it is already 'prohibited in an order of both houſes of the '26th of *April*, 1645. and likewiſe a'gainſt all ſuch *miniſters*, or others, as 'ſhall publiſh or maintain, by preaching, 'writing, printing, or any other way, 'any thing againſt, or in derogation of 'church government which is now eſta'bliſhed by authority of both houſes of 'parliament: and all juſtices of peace, ſheriffs, mayors, bayliffs, and other head 'officers of corporations, and all officers

'of

'of the *army*, are to take notice of this 'declaration, and by all lawful ways and 'means, to prevent offences of this kind, 'and to apprehend the *offenders*, and give 'notice thereof to this houſe, that there-'upon courſe may be ſpeedily taken, for 'a due puniſhment to be inflicted on 'them.'

THIS was a more ſevere law againſt the *Diſſenters* than the former, and would have expoſed them to very great hardſhips, had the times permitted a ſtrict execution of it.

IT was not enough, that ſuch *miniſters* as had not been ordained in the national church, ſhould be kept out of the *church* and *chapels*; but they muſt not be allowed to preach or expound the Scriptures in any publick *place*, nor would ordination itſelf be ſufficient, but they muſt be tied from ſpeaking or writing any thing againſt or contrary to the *directory* and diſcipline eſtabliſhed; and this reſtraint to extend, not only to *miniſters*, but all other *perſons*; and 'tis put into the power of the officers of the *army*, as well as the civil *magiſtrate*, to apprehend thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs againſt this *ordinance*.

THE *Baptiſts* were as much aimed at, and as many of them proſecuted, by theſe laws, as any others who were called *ſectaries*; yet by ſome means or other they ob-

tained a very great *indulgence* from the parliament about a year after.

An. Dom. 1647.

WHETHER it was the great number of this opinion, that were at this time, both in the *army*, and in moſt corporations in *England*; or that ſome of thoſe great men who about this time entertained the opinion againſt *infant-baptiſm*, did intercede in their behalf, I cannot ſay. But on *Mar.* 4. 1647. a declaration of the lords and commons was publiſhed, in which were theſe words:

A declaration of the lords and commons in favour of the Baptiſts.

'THE name of *Anabaptiſm* hath indeed contracted much *odium*, by reaſon 'of the extravagant opinions and practices 'of ſome of that name in *Germany*, tending to the diſturbance of the government 'and peace of all ſtates, which opinions 'and practices we abhor and deteſt: But 'for their opinion againſt the baptiſm of '*infants*, it is only a difference about a 'circumſtance of time in the adminiſtration of an *ordinance*, wherein in former 'ages, as well as this, learned men have 'differed both in opinion and practice. 'And though we could wiſh that all men 'would ſatisfy themſelves, and join with 'us in our judgment and practice in this 'point; yet herein we held it fit that men 'ſhould be convinced by the word of God, 'with great gentleneſs and reaſon, and not 'beaten out of it with force and violence.'

This indeed diſcovered a true chriſtian ſpirit,

rit, and is the method which the gospel directs to take with those who err. And had they kept to this, it would have been to their immortal honour.

But it must be recorded, to the shame of this very parliament, or rather of those who had the chief influence in publick affairs, that about a year after this, a more severe law passed against *heresy* and *error*, than any that has been made in *England* since the *Reformation*. Nay, I may challenge any one to produce a more cruel and bloody law in the times of *popery*, except the act *de heretico comburendo*. It bore date *May* the 2d, 1648. and was entituled, *An ordinance of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, for the punishing of blasphemies and heresies.* An. Dom. 1648.

In this there is first a catalogue of *heresies*, any of which whosoever did maintain and publish, with obstinacy therein, he was to suffer the pains of death, as in case of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. Then an enumeration of certain *errors*, any of which whosoever should publish or maintain, and be thereof convicted before two justices of the peace, without the privilege of a jury, or liberty of an appeal, he should be obliged to renounce his said errors in the publick congregation; and in case he refused, or neglected this, at the time and place appointed, the said *justices* are to commit him to *prison*, until he shall find

two ſufficient ſureties, that he ſhall not publiſh or maintain the ſaid error or errors any more.

AMONG the errors ſpecified are theſe, *viz.* 'That the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or that ſuch baptiſm is void, and that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized again, and in purſuance thereof ſhall baptize any perſon formerly baptized; That the church government by presbytery is antichriſtian or unlawful.'

THIS being the moſt ſhocking law I have met with, and plainly proving that the governing *Preſbyterians* in thoſe times would have made a terrible uſe of their power, if it had been ſupported by the ſword of the civil *magiſtrate*; I ſhall therefore oblige the reader with a tranſcript of the whole. The words of the ordinance are as followeth:

AN

Die Martis, 2. Maii, 1648.

AN ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

For punishing Blasphemies and Heresies.

'FOR the preventing of the growth and spreading of heresy and blasphemy, be it ordained by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled: That all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance, willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publish that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal; or that the father is not God, the son is not God, or that the Holy Ghost is not God; or that they three are not one eternal God; or that

London, *printed for* Edw. Husband, *printer to the honourable House of Commons.* 1648.

'ſhall in like manner maintain and publiſh that Chriſt is not God equal with the 'Father; or ſhall deny the manhood of 'Chriſt, or that the Godhead and manhood of Chriſt are ſeveral natures; or 'that the humanity of Chriſt is pure and 'unſpotted of all ſin; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh as aforeſaid, that Chriſt 'did not die, nor riſe from the dead, nor 'is aſcended into heaven bodily; or that 'ſhall deny his death is meritorious in the 'behalf of believers; or that ſhall maintain and publiſh as aforeſaid, that Jeſus 'Chriſt is not the ſon of God, or that 'the holy Scripture, *viz.* of the old teſtament, *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1 *Samuel*, 2 *Samuel*, 1 *Kings*, 2 *Kings*, 1 *Chronicles*, 2 *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *The Song of Songs*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habbakuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*; 'of the new teſtament, the goſpels according to *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *John*, 'the *Acts of the apoſtles*, *Paul's epiſtles to the Romans*, *Corinthians the firſt*, *Corinthians the ſecond*, *to Timothy the firſt*, *to Timothy the ſecond*, *to Titus*, *to Philemon*, *the epiſtle to the Hebrews*, *the epiſtle of James*, *the firſt and ſecond epiſtles*

'of

'*of Peter, the firſt, ſecond and third epiſtles* '*of John, the epiſtle of Jude, the Revela-* '*tion of John,* is not the word of God; 'or that the bodies of men ſhall not riſe 'again after they are dead; or that there 'is no day of judgment after death; all 'ſuch maintaining and publiſhing of ſuch 'error or errors, with obſtinacy therein, 'ſhall by virtue hereof be adjudged fe-'lony; and all ſuch perſons, upon com-'plaint and proof made of the ſame, in 'any of the caſes aforeſaid, before any 'two of the next juſtices of the peace for 'that place or county, by the oaths of 'two witneſſes, (which ſaid juſtices of 'peace in ſuch caſes ſhall hereby have 'power to adminiſter) or confeſſion of 'the party; the ſaid party ſo accuſed ſhall 'be by the ſaid juſtices of the peace com-'mitted to priſon, without bail or main-'prize, until the next goal-delivery, to 'be holden for that place or county; 'and the witneſſes likewiſe ſhall be bound 'over by the ſaid juſtices unto the ſaid 'goal-delivery, to give in their evidence; 'and at the ſaid goal-delivery the party 'ſhall be indicted for felonious publiſh-'ing and maintaining ſuch error: And 'in caſe the indictment be found, and 'the party upon his trial ſhall not abjure 'his ſaid error, and defence and main-'tenance of the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer the 'pains of death, as in caſe of felony,

'with-

'without benefit of clergy. But in caſe 'he ſhall recant, or renounce and ab- 'jure his ſaid error or errors, and the main- 'tainance or publiſhing of the ſame; he 'ſhall nevertheleſs remain in priſon until 'he ſhall find two ſureties, being ſubſidy 'men, that ſhall be bound with him 'before two or more juſtices of the 'peace or goal-delivery, that he ſhall not 'thenceforth publiſh or maintain, as afore- 'ſaid, the ſaid error or errors any more; 'and the ſaid juſtices ſhall have power 'hereby to take bail in ſuch caſes.

'AND be it further ordained, that in 'caſe any perſon formerly indicted for 'publiſhing and maintaining of ſuch er- 'roneous opinion or opinions, as aforeſaid, 'and renouncing and abjuring the ſame, 'ſhall nevertheleſs again publiſh and main- 'tain his ſaid former error or errors, as 'aforeſaid and the ſame proved as afore- 'ſaid; the ſaid party ſo offending ſhall be 'committed to priſon as formerly, and at 'the next goal-delivery ſhall be indicted, 'as aforeſaid. And in caſe the indictment 'be then found upon the trial, and it ſhall 'appear that formerly the party was con- 'victed of the ſame error, and publiſhing 'and maintaining thereof, and renounced 'and abjured the ſame, the offender ſhall 'ſuffer death, as in caſe of felony, with- 'out benefit of clergy. Be it further or- 'dained by the authority aforeſaid, that

'all

'all and every perſon or perſons, that ſhall 'publiſh or maintain as aforeſaid, any of 'the ſeveral errors hereafter enſuing, *viz.* 'that all men ſhall be ſaved; or that man 'by nature hath free-will to turn to God; 'or that God may be worſhipped in or by 'pictures or images; or that the ſoul of 'any man after death goeth neither to 'heaven or hell, but to purgatory; or that 'the ſoul of man dieth or ſleepeth when 'the body is dead; or that revelations or 'the workings of the Spirit are a rule of 'faith or chriſtian life, though diverſe 'from, or contrary to the written word of 'God; or that man is bound to believe 'no more than by his reaſon he can com-'prehend; or that the moral law of God 'contained in the ten commandments, is 'no rule of chriſtian life; or that a believer 'need not repent or pray for pardon of 'ſins; or that the two ſacraments of bap-'tiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, are not or-'dinances commanded by the word of 'God; *or that the baptizing of infants is 'unlawful, or ſuch baptiſm is void, and 'that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized 'again, and in purſuance thereof, ſhall 'baptize any perſon formerly baptized*; or 'that the obſervation of the Lord's-day, as 'it is enjoined by the ordinances and laws 'of this realm, is not according, or is con-'trary to the word of God; or that it is 'not lawful to join in publick prayer or

'family

'family prayer, or to teach children to 'pray; or that the churches of *England* 'are no true churches, nor their miniſters 'and ordinances true miniſters and ordi-'nances; or that the church government 'by presbytery is antichriſtian or unlaw-'ful; or that magiſtracy, or the power of the 'civil magiſtrate by law eſtabliſhed in *Eng-'land*, is unlawful; or that all uſe of arms 'though for the publick defence (and be 'the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful: And 'in caſe the party accuſed of ſuch publiſh-'ing and maintaining of any of the ſaid 'errors, ſhall be thereof convicted to have 'publiſhed and maintained the ſame, as 'aforeſaid, by the teſtimony of two or 'more witneſſes upon oath, or confeſſion 'of the ſaid party, before two of the next 'juſtices of the peace for the ſaid place 'or county, whereof one to be of the '*quorum* (who are hereby required and 'authorized to ſend for witneſſes and ex-'amine upon oath in ſuch caſes in the 'preſence of the party, the party ſo con-'victed ſhall be ordered by the ſaid juſtices 'to renounce his ſaid errors in the publick 'congregation of the ſame pariſh from 'whence the complaint doth come, or 'where the offence was committed; and 'in caſe he refuſeth or neglecteth to per-'form the ſame, at, or upon the day, 'time and place appointed by the ſaid 'juſtices, then he ſhall be committed to

'priſon

'prison by the said justices, until he shall 'find two sufficient sureties, before two 'justices of peace for the said place or 'county (whereof one shall be of the *quo-* 'rum) that he shall not publish or main- 'tain the said error or errors any more. 'Provided always, and be it ordained by 'the authority aforesaid, that no attainder 'by virtue hereof shall extend either to the 'forfeiture of the estate, real or personal, 'of such person attainted, or corruption 'of such person's blood.

JOHN BROWN, *Cler' Parliament.*

IT is easy to discern by this *ordinance*, that expressly all the *Anabaptists*, falsely so called, of whom there were not a few thousands in *England* at this time, all the *Independents* or *Separatists*, all *Episcoparians*, all the *Arminians*, yea, in a word, all *England*, save rigid *Presbyterians*, are expressly condemn'd. And doubtless, these rigid principles and severe laws would have been follow'd with a violent persecution, had not the confusions of the times, and the great number of the *Dissenters* prevented. And altho' the supreme power might design these *ordinances* only *in terrorem*; yet the mayors, justices, and other subordinate magistrates, were for practising these methods, as far as it was in their power, or whenever they had the least encouragement for so doing,

doing, as appears plainly enough by the following proſecutions.

[d] By this act *John Bidle* the *Socinian* was indicted and try'd in *Weſtminſter-hall*. He was firſt ſent to the *Compter*, and from thence to *Newgate*, *July* 3. 1655. and try'd for his life the next ſeſſions. To the indictment he pray'd counſel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being deny'd him by the judges, and the ſentence of a mute threatned, he at length gave into court his exceptions, engroſs'd in parchment; and with much ſtruggling, had counſel allow'd him; but the trial was deferred to the next day.

THE *protector*, well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his government, either to have him condemn'd or abſolv'd, takes him out of the hands of the law, and ſends him away to the iſle of *Scilly*, Oct. 5. 1655.

FOR, on the one hand, the *Preſbyterians*, and all enemies to liberty of religion (of which there appear'd a great number at his trial) would be offended at his releaſe; and all that were for liberty (among whom many congregations of *Anabaptiſts* eſpecially) had petition'd the *protector* for his diſcharge from proſecution upon that *ordinance*, by which all their liberties were threatned and condemn'd,

[d] Vide *his Life*.

and

and the capital articles of the protector's government infringed; which run thus: *That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (tho' differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publickly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion*, &c. Art. 37. *That all laws, statutes, ordinances*, &c. *to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void*; Art. 38. In this exile he continued about three years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his friends for his liberty, and his own letters, both to the *protector* and to Mr. *Calamy*, an eminent *Presbyterian* minister, to reason them into compassion. At length, through the importunity of friends, and other occurrences, the *protector* suffered a writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted out of the *Upper-bench-court*, as it was then called, and to be obey'd by the governour of *Scilly*, whereby the prisoner was brought thence, and by that court set at liberty, as finding no legal cause of detaining him.

He did not long enjoy this liberty, for about five months after *Oliver* died, and his son *Richard* succeeding, call'd a parliament, dangerous to *John Bidle*; which being foreseen, he was forced by the importunity of a noble friend, to retire into the country during their session. But that parliament being dissolv'd, he return'd to his wonted station,

ſtation, and continued undiſturb'd till the firſt of *June*, 1662. When he was haled out of his lodgings, where he was convened with ſome few of his friends for divine worſhip, and carried before Sir *Richard Brown*, who forthwith committed them all to the publick priſon; *John Bidle* to the *dungeon*, where he lay for five hours, and was denied the benefit of the law, which admitted offenders of that ſort to bail for their appearance; there they lay till the *recorder*, mov'd with more reverence of the laws, took ſecurity for their anſwering to their charge next ſeſſions; which they performed accordingly. But when the court could not find any ſtatute whereon to form any criminal indictment againſt them, they were referred to the ſeſſions following, and then were proceeded againſt, by pretext of an offence againſt common law (the rules of which lie moſtly in the judges breaſts) and thereupon fined, every one of the *hearers* in the penalty of twenty pounds, and *John Bidle* in one hundred, to lie in priſon till paid. Now, though the ſheriff would generouſly have been ſatisfied with ten pounds for him, and he would have paid it; yet the enmity of Sir *Richard Brown* was ſuch, as he could not be induced to conſent thereto upon any terms, but threatned him with a ſeven years impriſonment, tho' he ſhould pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cauſe of his con-

continuing in prison. But he had not been there full five Weeks, till by reason of the noisomness of the place, and pent air, he contracted a disease, which in a few days put a period to his life.

THE chief prosecutors [e] of this man, I find, were certain *booksellers* of St. *Paul's church-yard*, notoriously known for their prepostrous zeal, and former opposition unto christian liberty, under the name of *Beacon-firers*. The *author* of the narrative of the proceedings against *John Bidle*, says [f]: 'If we enquire further into the 'conversation of these men, we shall find 'them to have been chief *city remonstrants*, 'that thereby set the nation into an actual 'flame, made division between the *parlia-* 'ment and *army*, and were the occasion of 'the war between them; it was the *Presby-* 'terian interest which these men espoused, 'that occasioned the uproar that *Massey*, and 'Pointze, and the *apprentices* made, where- 'of they are never to be forgotten, and ever 'to be thankfully acknowledged: If the 'providence of Almighty [God] had not in- 'terposed, this nation might by this time 'have become a desolate wilderness. These 'actings were so highly displeasing to the 'parliament, that they voted that no per- 'son that had a hand therein, should be ca- 'pable of any place or office within the 'commonwealth.'

[e] Tho. Underhill, Luke Fawn, Nath. Webb. [f] *Page* 7.

THE author of *the humble advice to the right honourable the lord-mayor, the recorder, and the reſt of the juſtices of the honourable bench*, ſpeaking of Mr. *Bidle*, ſays g: 'If 'you ſhall ſeriouſly and deliberately weigh 'all circumſtances touching the man and 'his opinions, he is ſo free from being 'queſtioned for any the leaſt blemiſh 'in his life and converſation, that the *in-formers* themſelves have been heard to 'admire his ſtrict exemplary life, full of 'modeſty, ſobriety, and forbearance, no 'ways contentious, touching the great 'things of the world, but altogether taken 'up with the things of God revealed in 'the holy ſcriptures; wherein his ſtudy, 'diligence and attainments have been ſo 'great, that his knowledge therein is of as 'ready uſe as a concordance, no part 'thereof being named, but he preſently 'cites the book, chapter, and verſe, 'eſpecially throughout the books of the 'New Teſtament, where all the epiſtles he 'can ſay by heart out of the *Greek tongue*, 'and withal can read the *Greek* in *Engliſh*, 'and the *Engliſh* in *Greek* ſo readily as a 'man can do the mere *Engliſh*; ſo carefully 'hath he been rightly to underſtand them. 'As to the juſtice and integrity of his heart, 'his ways have manifeſted that he would 'not diſſemble, play the hypocrite, or

g *Page* 7.

'deal

'deal fraudulently with any man to ſave 'his life; ſuch is he certainly, as is known 'to very many perſons of worth and cre-'dit in *London*. So as he is far from be-'ing ſuch a monſter as many have believed 'him to be, through the uncomely and 'unchriſtian-like clamours of his ac-'cuſers.'

THE author of *the true ſtate of the caſe of liberty of conſcience in England*, gives this teſtimony of Mr. *Bidle*'s converſation [h], 'We 'have, ſays he, had intimate knowledge 'thereof for ſome years; but we think he 'needs not us, but may appeal even to his ene-'mies, for his vindication therein. Let thoſe 'that knew him at *Oxford* for the ſpace 'of ſeven or eight years, thoſe that knew him 'at *Glouceſter* about three years, thoſe that 'knew him at *London* theſe eight or nine 'years, (moſt of which time he hath been a 'priſoner) ſpeak what they know, of un-'righteouſneſs, uncleanneſs, unpeaceableneſs, 'malice, pride, profaneneſs, drunkenneſs, 'or any the like iniquity, which they can 'accuſe him of; or hath he, (as the man-'ner of hereticks is,) 2 *Pet.* ii. 3. *Through 'covetouſneſs, with feigned words made 'merchandiſe of any?* Hath he not herein 'walked upon ſuch true grounds of chriſ-'tian ſelf-denial, that none in the world 'can ſtand more clear and blameleſs here-

[h] *Page* 5.

'in alſo? He having ſhunned to make any 'of thoſe advantages which are eaſily made 'in the world, by men of his parts and 'breeding, languages and learning, that (if 'any known to us) he may truly ſay as the 'apoſtle, *I have coveted no man's ſilver, or 'gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourſelves know, 'that theſe hands have miniſtred to my ne-'ceſſities*; he ever accounting it *a more 'bleſſed thing to give than receive.*

'AND that he ſhould, in holding or 'republiſhing any opinions in religion, 'wilfully ſin, doing the ſame againſt his 'own conſcience and judgment, and ſo 'ſhould fall under that character of an '*Heretick*, to be condemned of himſelf, '*Tit.* iii. 10, 11. we cannot imagine 'that his moſt zealous enemies do ſuppoſe, 'much leſs charge him with ſuch groſs 'wickedneſs; however for ourſelves that 'know him, we crave leave upon know-'ledge to affirm, that he lives conſtantly 'in ſuch a filial fear of God, with ſo much 'watchfulneſs over his ways, and lays ſo 'great a weight upon wilful ſin, that it is 'impoſſible he can be guilty of ſo abhorred 'an evil; being ſo far from *ſelf-condemn-'ing*, that we are perſuaded, he would 'not hold, or publiſh any opinion or 'doctrine which to his underſtanding he 'did not judge to have clear grounds in 'holy Scripture, though thereby he might 'gain the whole world: Such confidence

'have

'have thoſe that know him, of his clear-
'neſs in thoſe particulars, of *wilful-ſinning*,
'or *ſelf-condemning*.

'AND indeed, ſince he hath found
'cauſe to differ in his judgment from the
'multitude, he hath not only diligently
'examined the Scriptures himſelf, but alſo
'hath deſired and ſought the knowledge
'and diſcourſe of any learned and good
'man he could hear of, for his further
'information. But though he hath diſ-
'courſed with many, yet never received
'he an admonition from any, to change
'his judgment or opinion.

'SO that theſe things well-weighed in
'the true ballance of Scripture-truth, and
'true chriſtian charity, we hope it will
'appear, though he may err in ſome part
'of his judgment, yet can he not by any
'means, be eſteemed leſs than a believer
'in God through Jeſus Chriſt, and one that
'*exerciſeth himſelf to have always a good*
'*conſcience, void of offence toward God and*
'*men*; having hope of the reſurrection
'both of the juſt and unjuſt; and ſo not
'an *Heretick*, the characters of ſuch an
'one not all appearing in him; and much
'leſs a *blaſphemer*, having never been
'known to be either a curſer, or ſwearer,
'or railer againſt acknowledged truths.
'Inſomuch that were he in a true uner-
'ring church of Chriſt, they could not ſo
'much as excommunicate him out of their

'fellowſhip as an *Heretick*, much leſs per-
'ſecute him to impriſonment, or other
'puniſhment; it clearly appearing that if he
'be miſtaken in any thing (as who in ſome
'meaſure is not?) it is neceſſarily from the
'entanglement of his underſtanding, and
'not in the leaſt of wilfulneſs. Nor could
'we ever perceive, but that even in thoſe
'things wherein he moſt differed from
'the ſtream of interpreters, in thoſe high
'points of *Trinity in Unity*, *and Unity in*
'*Trinity*, that he contended therein out
'of curioſity, or vain glory, but con-
'ſcientiouſly, and to the clearing of the
'truth to him ſo appearing, and vindica-
'tion of the honour of God therein, which
'we believe to be the ſupreme end of
'all his endeavours. And though he ſhould
'ſomewhat miſtake the way, yet doubtleſs,
'God, who often accepteth the will for
'the deed, will look upon it as an error
'of his zeal and love, and receive him to
'his mercy.

'AND as we have undertaken (as be-
'ing moved in conſcience thereto) to vin-
'dicate Mr. *Bidle* from any *hereſy* in faith,
'or licentiouſneſs in practice, that might ren-
'der him juſtly uncapable of liberty of con-
'ſcience promiſed in the government; ſo
'in particular we can boldly defend him a-
'gainſt the charge of abuſing his liberty to
'the civil injury of others, or any manner
'of way endeavouring the diſturbance of

'the

'the publick peace or civil government up-
'on any pretence. Doth he not in the
'17th chapter of his *Catechiſm* deliver his
'judgment for ſubjection to government,
'and *paying tribute even for conſcience-ſake?*
'What needs more, ſeeing all that know
'him, know his practice to be conformable
'thereunto?'

Mr. William Kiffin *proſecuted by the ſame ordinance.*

ANOTHER, who was proſecuted by the force of this *ordinance*, was the Rev. Mr. *William Kiffin*, paſtor of a *Baptized congregation* in the city of *London*. He was convened before the Lord-mayor at *Guild-hall*, on *Thurſday* the 12th of *July* 1655. and there charged with the breach of this *ordinance*, for preaching, *That the baptiſm of infants is unlawful*: But the Lord-mayor being buſy, the execution of the penalty in the act upon him was referr'd till the *Monday* following.

THE author of *The Spirit of Perſecution again broke looſe*, makes the following obſervations on the juſtices partiality with reſpect to their management of the proſecutions againſt Mr. *Bidle* and Mr. *Kiffin*.

'MR. *Bidle*, ſays he, muſt be ſent for
'by a warrant, Mr. *Kiffin* by ſummons of
'a meſſenger; Mr. *Bidle* muſt be commit-
'ted by one juſtice without a *mittimus*, and
'by one juſtice with a *mittimus*, but Mr.
'*Kiffin* muſt not be proceeded againſt up-
'on the ſame ordinance without two juſti-
'ces; he muſt have three or four days ſpace

'given him; the other muſt be ſent to pri-
'ſon in ſuch haſte, that a *mittimus* could
'not be writ to be ſent with him, but it
'muſt be ſent after him. And in the paſ-
'ſages, ſays he, at Mr. *Kiffin*'s proſecu-
'tion, you may note further, that my Lord-
'mayor aſked the proſecutors why they
'did not proſecute Mr. *Kiffin* ſooner, ſee-
'ing they knew of this ordinance, and
'Mr. *Kiffin*'s practice long ago. To which
'they made anſwer, that they thought the
'ordinance had been made null and void,
'till the other day they perceived one was
'committed to priſon upon it. What made
'you think, ſaid my Lord, that it was
'void? there is no time ſet when it ſhould
'expire. True, ſaid the proſecutors, but
'there is the inſtrument of government that
'ſaith, *That whoſoever profeſſeth faith in*
'*God by Jeſus Chriſt, though differing in*
'*judgment from the doctrine, worſhip, and*
'*diſcipline publickly held forth, ſhall not be*
'*reſtrained from, but protected in the pro-*
'*feſſion of the faith and exerciſe of the religion,*
'&c. *and all acts and ordinances to the con-*
'*trary are to be eſteemed null and void.*
'Would any man think that the Lord-mayor
'of *London* ſhould be ignorant of the fun-
'damentals in the government? Surely
'thoſe that ſlight one part of the govern-
'men, then chiefeſt, would make void all,
'if they could or durſt.'

THE

THE fury of theſe times ſeemed to be more eſpecially turn'd againſt the oppoſers of *infant-baptiſm*, as will appear by the following account of their ſufferings, both before and after the making of theſe laws. *Sufferings of the Engliſh Baptiſts.*

I SHALL mention, in the firſt place, Mr. *Vavaſor Powell*, that faithful miniſter and confeſſor of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Hard was the meaſure he met with from wicked and debauched perſons, by often lying in wait for his life, and by many buffetings and ſtripes which he received from them, whilſt attending and pleading Chriſt's cauſe and goſpel; inſomuch that it may be truly ſaid of him, as the *apoſtle* ſpake of himſelf; *That in all things he approved himſelf a miniſter of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in ſtripes, in impriſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings; by honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver yet true. He was in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils among falſe brethren, in wearineſs and painfulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger, and thirſt, &c.* 2 Cor. vi. 4, &c. 2 Cor. xi. 26.

HE was taken about the year 1640. when preaching in a houſe in *Brecknockſhire*, about ten o-clock at night, and ſeized with fifty or ſixty of his hearers, by many

[1] *Page* 86.

lewd

lewd fellows, under pretence of a warrant they had from juſtice *Williams*, and ſecured in a church, where at midnight he performed divine ſervice, and preached from thoſe words, *Fear not them which kill the body*. And it was obſerved, that one of the chiefeſt and vileſt of his troublers did weep ſorely.

Matt. x. 28.

THE next morning he was brought to the juſtice's houſe; who being not at home, whilſt waiting, he preached there, at which the juſtice, when he came in, was much enraged, to find him at ſuch work in his houſe; but two of the juſtice's daughters, who ſeemed to reliſh the word, begged him not to do any thing againſt him and his companions, but he preſently committed them to the conſtable's hands; and the next day, having with him two or three more juſtices, and ſix or ſeven *prieſts*, ſent for them again to examine them further; where, after much conference, and many threatnings, he diſcharged them all at that time.

AFTER this, preaching at *Launger* in *Radnorſhire*, in the field, becauſe the publick place was not big enough to contain his auditory, Mr. *Hugh Lloyd* the high ſheriff with a band of men, ſeized him, and after examination committed him, and charged ſixteen or ſeventeen conſtables preſent, to execute his *mittimus*. They all but one refuſed it; who taking him into his cuſtody, the

priſon

prison being at a great distance, and Mr. *Powell*'s house being in the way, he permitted him to lodge there that night, and was so affected with his family duty, that he would proceed no farther, and left Mr. *Powell* at home, but for fear of the cruelty of the justice, absconded.

MR. *Powell*, to prevent damage to the man, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes at *Radnorshire*; and accordingly appeared there, and three bills of indictment were preferred against him, from which, upon the traverse, he was acquitted, and the judges invited him to dinner with them, desiring him to give thanks, one of them said, *it was the best grace he ever heard in his life*.

THIS proved much to the furtherance of the gospel in those parts, to the great offence of the high sheriff, who afterwards upon the coming on of the war, persecuted him out of the country.

MR. *Edward Barber*, minister to a small congregation of *Baptists* at *London*, was in the year 1641. kept eleven months in prison, for *denying* the *baptism* of *infants*, and that to pay *tithes* to the clergy is God's ordinance under the gospel; but these seem to have been before the *episcopal* power was laid aside[k].

Mr. Edward Barber *imprison'd.*

[k] *Preface to his treatise of Baptism.*

MR.

Mr. Benj. Cox *imprisoned.*

MR. *Benj. Cox*, a biſhop's ſon, and ſome time miniſter of *Bedford*, was committed to *Coventry* goal, for preaching and diſputing againſt *infant-baptiſm* in the year 1643.

The occaſion of it.

THE occaſion of it was this. Several pious and godly people at *Coventry*, having embraced the opinion of *Antipædobaptiſm*, reſolved to form themſelves into a diſtinct ſociety or church, and for their direction and aſſiſtance in this ſettlement, they ſent for this Mr. *Cox*, being an antient *miniſter*, and of good reputation both for piety and learning, as his adverſaries acknowledge.

THERE were alſo at the ſame time in this city, ſeveral *Preſbyterian* miniſters, who had fled thither for *refuge*; among whom the Rev. Mr. *Baxter* was one. Theſe were not a little alarmed and diſpleaſed at this increaſe of the *Baptiſts*, and eſpecially at ſo great a man's coming to encourage and vindicate them.

BESIDES the pulpits ringing againſt the error of *Anabaptiſm*, Mr. *Baxter* ſends a challenge to Mr. *Cox*, to diſpute with him about the points in difference; which was accepted, and carried on *viva voce*, and then by writing. Tho' no account of this is preſerv'd, but by Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, yet it is eaſy to judge which ſide gained the advantage. For there comes out an order from the *committee*, requiring Mr. *Cox* to depart

depart the *city*, and promiſe to come there no more; and upon his refuſing to do this, he is immediately committed to *priſon*.

THIS was complain'd of as very hard and illegal uſage; and Mr. *Baxter* was reflected upon as having procur'd his impriſonment; for he had a great intereſt in the *committee*, dwelt at the *governour*'s houſe, and was his intimate *friend*.

MR. *Baxter* indeed denies[1], that he ever ſpoke a word for the putting him into priſon. But if he had diſlik'd ſuch proceedings, 'tis plain he might have prevented it; for when he had been ſome time in *priſon*, upon Mr. *Pinſon*'s applying himſelf to Mr. *Baxter* for his releaſe, it was ſoon procured.

MR. *Henry Denne*, who had been educated at *Cambridge*, ordain'd a *miniſter* by the biſhop of St. *David*'s, and enjoyed the living of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordſhire* about ten years, upon changing his opinion about *baptiſm*, was in the year 1644. apprehended in *Cambridgeſhire*, by the committee of that county, and ſent to *goal*, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and preſuming to baptize thoſe again who had received no other. *Mr.* Henry Denne *ſent to priſon.*

AFTER he had been confined ſome time, through the interceſſion of his friends, his caſe was referred to a committee of parliament; and he was ſent up to *London*, and kept a *priſoner* in the lord *Peter's*

[1] *Introduct. plain proofs.*

houſe

houſe in *Aderſgate-ſtreet*, till the committee had heard his caſe, and releaſed him.

HE was a ſecond time taken up, and committed at *Spalding* in *Lincolnſhire*, in *June* 1646. for preaching and baptizing by *immerſion*. His chief proſecutors here were two juſtices of peace. They ſent the conſtable to apprehend him on the Lord's-day morning, and keep him in cuſtody, that ſo he might not preach; for the people reſorted to him very much, which was no ſmall occaſion of their taking offence. Upon the hearing his caſe, there was but one *witneſs* of his pretended crime, *viz. dipping*; for he himſelf refuſed to be his own accuſer.

IT will give the *reader* a better view of the proceedings in thoſe times, to ſee the two examinations that were taken on this occaſion.

The examination of Anne Jarrat, *of* Spalding, *ſpinſter*, June 22. 1646. *before maſter* Thomas Irbie, *and maſter* John Harrington, *commiſſioners of the peace.*

'THIS examinate ſaith, on *Wedneſ-*
'*day* laſt in the night about eleven or
'twelve of the clock, *Anne Stennet* and
'*Anne Smith*, the ſervants of *John Macker-*
'*neſſe*, did call out this examinate to go

[g] Edward's *Gangræna*, *p.* 3. *p.* 86.

'with

'with them to the little croft, with whom 'this examinate did go; and coming thi-'ther, maſter *Denne*, and *John Macker-'neſſe*, and a *ſtranger* or *two* followed after: 'And being come to the *river* ſide, maſ-'ter *Denne* went into the water, and there 'did baptize *Anne Stennet*, *Anne Smith*, 'Godfrey *Roote*, and *John Sowter* in this 'examinate's preſence.

ANNE JARRAT (W) *her mark.*

June 21. 1646. Lincolne Holland, Henry Denne *of* Caxton *in the county of* Cambridge, *examined before* John Harrington *and* Thomas Irby, *Eſqrs; two of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace.*

'THIS examinate ſaith, that he liveth 'at *Caxton* aforeſaid, but doth ex-'erciſe at *Elſly* within a mile of his own 'houſe; and ſaith that he took orders a-'bout ſixteen years ſince from the biſhop of 'St. *Davids*, and that on *Monday* laſt he 'came to *Spalding*, being invited thither 'by *John Mackerneſſe* to come to his houſe. 'And that he hath exerciſed his gifts about 'four times in ſeveral places in *Spalding*, 'viz. at the houſe of *John Mackerneſſe* 'and Mr. *Enſton*'s. As for baptizing of 'any, he doth not confeſs.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

IF

IF it be thought a crime to perform such a ceremony in the *night*, the severity of the times must bear the blame of it, which obliged him to take such a season. The Primitive Christians held their assemblies and perform'd most of their social worship in the *night*, when under persecution; and for his not confessing the baptizing of any, the rule of common law will excuse him, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*

Mr. Coppe imprisoned.

ABOUT this time also Mr. *Coppe*, a minister in *Warwickshire*, and some time preacher to the garison of *Compton-house* in the said county, was committed to *Coventry* goal for rebaptizing.

Mr. Baxter's account of him.

MR. *Baxter* says of this man [n], 'That he 'was a zealous *Anabaptist*, and continued 'so for many years, and rebaptized more 'than any one man he ever heard of in the 'country. Witness, says he, *Warwick-* 'shire, *Oxfordshire*, part of *Worcestershire*, 'etc. That when himself was preacher to 'the garison at *Coventry*, which was near 'him, he heard of no opinions that he 'vented or held, but the necessity of re-'baptizing, and independency: But after-'wards he fell into the errors and vile prac-'tices of the *Ranters*, for which he was 'put again into *Coventry* goal.'

BUT Mr. *Baxter* acknowledges, that his former imprisonment was for his rebap-

[n] *Scrip. Proofs*, p. 148.

tizing;

tizing; and that those who committed him were represented as *persecutors* for so doing.

UPON the publishing of the *ordinance of parliament* in 1645. against unordained preachers, before recited, the Lord-mayor of *London* sent his officers to the *Baptist-meeting* in *Coleman-street*, being inform'd that certain *laymen* preach'd there. When they came, they found two ministers there, Mr. *Lamb*, the elder of the church; and a young man, who was a *teacher* among them.

Mr. Lamb *and another taken into custody.*

THE congregation were greatly provoked that they should be thus disturbed in their worship, for it was on the Lord's-day, and some used very rough language to the officers; but Mr. *Lamb* treated them very civilly, and desired they would permit them to finish their exercise, and gave his word that they would both appear before the Lord-mayor at six o-clock, to answer for what they did.

THE officers accepted this, and went their way; and Mr. *Lamb* with his assistant met them at his lordship's house, at the time appointed.

WHEN they were brought before the mayor, he demanded by what authority they took upon them to preach; and told them, they had transgressed an *ordinance* of *parliament*. Mr. *Lamb* replied, No, for they were called and appointed to that

office by as reformed a church as any in the world, alluding to the words of the *ordinance*; and they acknowledg'd to him, that they were ſuch as rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants* as invalid.

Bound over by the Lord-mayor, and committed to priſon.

AFTER examination, his lordſhip bound them over to anſwer it before a committee of parliament; who, after hearing of them, committed them both to *goal*, where they lay for ſome time. At length, by the interceſſion of their friends, they were ſet at liberty.

Mr. Hobſon *taken into cuſtody.*

THE ſame year, and by virtue of the ſame *ordinance*, Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, a *Baptiſt miniſter*, was taken into cuſtody by the governour of *Newport-Pagnel*, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and reflecting upon the order againſt *lay-mens* preaching.

Sent a priſoner to London.

AFTER ſome ſhort time of confinement there, the governour, Sir *Samuel Luke*, ſent him priſoner to *London*. His caſe was ſoon brought before the committee of examination; and having ſeveral great friends, he was immediately, after his being heard, diſcharged; and preached publickly at a meeting-houſe in *More fields*, to the great mortification of his perſecutors.

Mr. Hanſerd Knollys *taken into cuſtody.*

AMONG the ſufferers for *Antipædobaptiſm* in theſe times, the pious and learned Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys* muſt be number'd, tho' he had been ordained a miniſter by the biſhop of *Peterborough*, and now was a

zealous

zealous oppoſer both of epiſcopacy and common prayer, yet all this could not exempt him from the rage of the *Preſbyters*; [nor will Mr. *Neal*'s invidious repreſentation do any harm to his character] becauſe he was a *Sectary* and an *Anabaptiſt*. Once he was taken up for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm* at *Bow* church in *Cheapſide*. The occaſion was this: The churchwardens of that pariſh wanting a miniſter to preach on the Lord's-day enſuing, apply'd themſelves to Mr. *Knollys*. They renewed their requeſt three days, one after another, and were denied. At length, their earneſtneſs and great want of a ſupply prevailed with him. When he was preaching, his ſubject led him to ſay ſomething againſt the practice of baptizing *infants*. This gave ſo great an offence to ſome of his *auditory*, that they complained of him to the parliament, and a warrant from the committee for plunder'd miniſters, was ſent to the keeper of *Ely-houſe*, to apprehend him, and bring him in ſafe cuſtody before them. Hereupon he was preſently ſeized, and kept ſeveral days in *priſon*, his crime being too great to admit of bail when it was offered. At length his caſe was brought to a hearing before the committee: There were about thirty of the aſſembly of divines preſent; and Mr. *White* the chairman of the committee examined him about his authority to preach,

The occaſion of it.

Was impriſoned.

preach, the occaſion of his preaching in *Bow* church, and the doctrine he had there delivered.

Anſwers for himſelf before the committee, and is acquitted.

To all theſe he gave ſuch full anſwers, that they ſeemed *aſhamed* of what they had done; and ordering him to withdraw, called in the *goaler*, reproved him ſharply for refuſing bail, and threatned to turn him out of his place: ſo he was diſmiſs'd without any blame, or paying of fees, which was a ſmall reward for falſe impriſonment. Not long after this, he went into *Suffolk*, where he preached in ſeveral places, as he had opportunity and was deſired by his friends; but he being counted an *Antinomian*, and an *Anabaptiſt*, this was looked upon to be *ſedition* and *faction*, and the rabble being encouraged by the high-conſtable, ſet themſelves zealouſly to oppoſe him. At one time when he was preaching, they ſtoned him out of the pulpit. At another time, when he was to have preached, they got into the church firſt, and ſhut the doors, both againſt him and the people, upon which he preach'd in the church-yard; but this was deemed a very great and an unſufferable crime.

Is taken into cuſtody again, and ſent priſoner to London.

At length he was taken into cuſtody; and firſt he was proſecuted at a petty *ſeſſions* in the country, then ſent up a *priſoner* to *London*, with articles of complaint againſt him to the parliament. But when his caſe came to be heard before the committee of examination,

mination, he made it appear by witneſſes of good reputation, that he had neither ſowed *ſedition*, nor raiſed *tumults*, and that all the diſorders which had happen'd, were owing to the rage and malignity of his oppoſers, who had acted contrary both to law and common civility: He produc'd the copies of his ſermons which he had preach'd in thoſe parts, and afterwards printed them.

Anſwers for himſelf before the committee of examination.

Chriſt alone exalted, &c.

HIS anſwers were ſo full and ſatisfactory, that when the committee made their report to the houſe, he was not only diſcharged, but a vote paſſed, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of *Suffolk*, when the miniſter of the place did not preach there himſelf. But this buſineſs put him to a great deal of trouble and expence. He has left it under his own hand, that it coſt him threeſcore pounds.

Is diſcharged, and a vote of the houſe paſſed in his favour.

WHEN Mr. *Knollys* found that his preaching in the churches, tho' but occaſionally, gave ſo much offence, and brought ſo much trouble on himſelf, he ſet up a ſeparate meeting in *Great St. Helens*, *London*, where the people flock'd to hear him, and he had commonly a *thouſand* auditors. But this was rather a greater offence to his *Preſbyterian* brethren, than his former method. Now they complain'd that he was too near the church, and that he kept his meetings at the ſame times

He ſets up a meeting in Great St. Helens.

that they had their publick worſhip. And firſt they prevail'd upon his landlord, to warn him out of that place; next he was ſummon'd to appear before a committee of divines, which uſed to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, in the room called the *Queen's court*, to anſwer for his conduct in this matter. Upon his examination, Mr. *Leigh* being chairman, he aſked him why he preſumed to preach without holy orders. To which he replied, that he was in holy orders. Hereupon one of the committee ſaid to the chairman, that he had renounc'd his *ordination* by the biſhop before the committee for plunder'd miniſters. Mr. *Knollys* confeſſed that he did ſo; but ſaid, he was now ordain'd, in a church of God, according to the order of the goſpel, and then declar'd to them the manner of *ordination* uſed among the *Baptiſts*. At laſt, the chairman in the name of the committee, commanded him to preach no more; but he told them he would preach the Goſpel, both publickly and from houſe to houſe; ſaying it was more equal to obey Chriſt who commanded him, than thoſe who forbad him, and ſo went his way.

Is ſummoned before a committee of divines.

Is forbid to preach.

ONE thing that made the *Preſbyterians* more violent againſt this good man, ſeems to have been a letter that he writ from *London*, to one Mr. *John Dutton* in *Norwich*, in which there were ſome ſharp reflections upon their attempts to ſuppreſs all religion

A reaſon of the Preſbyterians *hatred.*

ligions but their own. This coming into the hands of ſome of the committee of *Suffolk*, was ſeized, ſent up to *London*, and preſently after publiſh'd by one of the chief promoters of perſecution in thoſe times. It being but ſhort, I ſhall here inſert it for the *reader*'s ſatisfaction.

Beloved brother,

'I Salute you in the Lord. Your letter I 'received the laſt day of the week; 'and upon the firſt day I did ſalute the 'brethren in your name, who re-ſalute you 'and pray for you. [a]The city *Preſbyterians* 'have ſent a letter to the ſynod, dated 'from *Sion-College*, againſt any *toleration*; 'and they are faſting and praying at *Sion-College* this day, about further contrivings 'againſt God's poor innocent ones; but 'God will doubtleſs anſwer them accord-'ing to the *idol* of their own hearts. To-'morrow there is a faſt kept by both hou-'ſes, and the ſynod at *Weſtminſter*. They 'ſay it is to ſeek God about the eſtabliſhing 'of worſhip according to their covenant: 'They have *firſt vowed, now they make en-'quiry*. God will certainly *take the crafty 'in their own ſnare*, and *make the wiſdom 'of the wiſe, fooliſhneſs*; for *he chooſeth the 'fooliſh things of this world to confound the 'wiſe, and weak things to confound the*

[a] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 48.

'*mighty*. My wife and family remember
'their love to you. Salute the brethren
'that are with you. Farewel.

Your brother in the
faith and fellowſhip
of the goſpel,

HANSERD KNOLLYS.

London, the 13th day of the 11th Month, called January, 1645.

I FIND it was a common practice in thoſe times, for ſuch as were in *authority*, to ſeize the letters which the *Sectaries*, as they term them, ſent one to another, and divulge them, either to expoſe their weakneſs, or to take advantage of any thing in them relating to publick affairs, in order to turn the government againſt them.

John Sims ſeized.

WE have a notable inſtance of this in the caſe of *John Sims*, a *Baptiſt miniſter* at *Hampton*. This man, in a journey to *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, was prevailed upon to preach in the pariſh-church of *Middleſey*; which gave ſuch offence to the *Preſbyterians*, that he was preſently ſeized by virtue of the act againſt unordain'd miniſters; and five letters, which he was carrying from ſome of his religious acquaintance to others, were taken from him. Theſe, with his examination, were ſent up to *London*, by way of complaint againſt him; and the govern-

His letters taken from him, and publiſhed.

ment

ment not taking that notice which was expected of them, the next thing was to publiſh them, in a book written by a *Preſbyterian* miniſter againſt the ſectaries.

HIS crimes are ſpecify'd in the examination, which were theſe great ones; *viz.* *preaching* and denying *infant-baptiſm*. And to aggravate theſe, they added, That he took a text, and preach'd before two *Preſbyterian miniſters*: For this is the form of it.

'[b] SONDAY, the laſt of *May*, he preach-'ed in the pariſh-church of *Middleſey*, took 'his text out of the iii. *Col.* 1. one maſter '*Mercer*, and maſter *Eſquier*, miniſters, 'with a hundred more perſons; and being 'deſired to know how he durſt preſume 'to teach ſo publickly, being not called, 'and an *ordinance* of parliament to the 'contrary, anſwered, *If* Peter *was called*, '*ſo was he*.

2. 'BEING deſired to know, why he 'teached contrary to the law of God, and 'the laws of the land, anſwered, Why 'are they ſuffered to teach in *London*, ſo 'near the parliament-houſe? and that he 'would allow of the parliament, as far 'forth as they go with his doctrine.

3. 'BEING deſired to know whether 'he allowed of our *baptiſm*, anſwered, No: 'that for his part he was baptized a year 'ſince, by one maſter *Sickmoore*; and his

[b] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 50.

'manner

'manner of baptizing was, that the afore-
'ſaid *Sickmoore* went firſt into the water,
'and he after him, ſo that he for his part
'would not allow of our *baptiſm*.'

As to the letters, there appears neither *hereſy* nor *rebellion* in them, unleſs baptizing by *immerſion*, and rejoicing that the *Preſbyterians* did not obtain that unlimited power they petition'd for, might be deemed ſuch.

IN one of theſe letters, written by *William Hayward*, are theſe words[c]:

'I NEED not tell you of the oppo-
'ſitions here in *Taunton*. Our brother will
'tell you the particular paſſages; our go-
'vernour does labour to beat us down,
'and doth ſay, that any meeting in pri-
'vate, is merely to croſs the publick meet-
'ings, and that it is not out of tenderneſs
'of conſcience, but *damnable pride* that
'we do; but this doth not any way cauſe
'us to draw back, or ſadden our ſpirits,
'for our ſpirits are carried above the fear
'of men.'

IN another Mr. *Collier* ſays[d],

'THE unlimited power of the *Preſby-*
'*terians* is denied them, of which you
'ſhall hear more ſhortly.'

AND the chief deſign of the laſt, is to comfort and ſtrengthen the ſaints againſt perſecution, and to aſſure them, that by

[c] *Ibid.* p. 53.
[d] *Ibid.* p. 51.

the

the ſame power by which they were brought into the way of holineſs, they ſhould be aſſiſted, and carried on to the end.

THIS year alſo, *Andrew Wyke* was taken up in the county of *Suffolk*, for preaching and *dipping*. When he was brought before the committee of the county, to be examined about his authority to preach, and the doctrines that he held, he refuſed to give them any account of either; alledging, that a freeman of *England* was not bound to anſwer any *interrogatories*, either to accuſe himſelf, or others; but if they had ought againſt him, they ſhould lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This was look'd upon as great obſtinacy, and an high contempt of authority; and therefore he was preſently ſent to *goal*.

Andrew Wyke *taken into cuſtody.*

Is ſent to priſon.

How long he continued there I cannot find; but during his impriſonment, a pamphlet was written, either by himſelf, or ſome of his friends, giving a particular account of the proceedings againſt him, and exclaiming againſt the committee for their perſecuting principles and illegal practices. It was entitled, 'The *innocent in priſon complaining*; *or, a true relation of the proceedings of the committee of* Ipſwich, *the committee at* Bury St. Edmonds *in the county of* Suffolk, *againſt one* Andrew

[e] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 170.

Wyke,

'Wyke, *a witneſs of* Jeſus *in the ſame* 'county, *who was committed to priſon* June 3. '1646.'

I SUPPOSE the reader's patience almoſt tired with accounts of this nature. I will only add one more; and I take it to be one of the chief and baſeſt attempts againſt the practice of *immerſion* in *baptiſm*, of any in thoſe times.

Mr. Sam. Oaes.

MR. *Sam. Oates*, a very popular preacher, and great diſputant, taking a journey into *Eſſex* in the year 1646. preach'd in ſeveral parts of that county, and baptized by *immerſion* great numbers of people, eſpecially about *Bockin*, *Braintree*, and *Tarling*. This made the *Preſbyterians* in thoſe parts very uneaſy; eſpecially the *miniſters*, who complained bitterly that ſuch things ſhould be permitted; and endeavouring to ſpur on the *magiſtrates* all they could to ſuppreſs him, one writes after this manner [f]:

'No magiſtrate in the country dare med-'dle with him; for they ſay they have 'hunted theſe out of the country into their 'dens in *London*, and impriſon'd ſome, and 'they are releaſed and ſent like *decoy-ducks* 'into the country to fetch in more; ſo that 'they go on in divers parts of *Eſſex* with 'the greateſt confidence and inſolency that 'can be imagined.'

[f] *Ibidem*, Part II. p. 3.

How-

HOWEVER, at length they got ſomething againſt him, which they thought would effectually anſwer their end, and therefore endeavoured to purſue it to the uttermoſt.

IT happen'd that among the hundreds which he had baptized in this county, one died within a few weeks after; and this they would have to be occaſioned by her being dipp'd in cold water.

ACCORDINGLY they prevailed upon the *magiſtrates* to ſend him to *priſon*, and put him in *irons* as a *murderer*, in order to his *trial* at the next *aſſizes*. *Is ſent to priſon, and put in irons.*

THE books written againſt the *Baptiſts* frequently repreſented the practice of *immerſion* to be extremely dangerous; and ſome termed them a cruel and murdering *ſect* for uſing it. Now if they could but have carry'd this point, it would have confirm'd their cenſures, fix'd an eternal *odium* on the practice, and frightened many timorous perſons from complying with their duty.

GREAT endeavours were therefore uſed that he might be brought in *guilty:* Nay, ſo fond were ſome of this ſtory, that they publiſhed it for a truth before it had been legally examined, and added theſe circumſtances to it, *viz.* 'g That he held her ſo 'long in the water, that ſhe fell preſently 'ſick: That her belly ſwell'd with the

g Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part II. p. 121.

'abun-

'abundance of water she took in, and with-
'in a fortnight or three weeks died; and up-
'on her death-bed expressed her *dipping*
'to be the cause of her death.' All which was afterwards made appear to be notorious lies.

Tried for his life.

THEY did indeed carry it so far, as to have him arraigned for his *life* at *Chelmsford* assizes. But upon his trial several credible witnesses were produced, among which the *mother* of the maid was one; who all testified upon *oath*, that the said *Anne Martin* (that being her name) was in better health for several days after her *baptism* than she had been for some years before; and that she was seen to walk abroad afterwards very comfortably. So that notwithstanding all the design and malignity that appear'd in this trial, he was in the end, brought in *not guilty*, to the great mortification of his enemies.

And honourably acquitted.

Remark.

How many children have died, either at their *baptism*, or immediately after it? And yet none ever ascrib'd it to their fright at the time, or the coldness of the water thrown upon them; and it must, of the two, be more dangerous, to dip tender and new-born infants, than those who are grown to maturity. And yet that was the practice of the church of *England* for several hundred years, even till the reign of King *James* I. when the fashion altered; and of the thousands of weakly persons,

who

who have been baptized by *immerſion* ſince the revival of that practice in *England*, among the *Baptiſts*, it does not appear that any one received any prejudice by it. Could but one inſtance of that nature have been produced, you may very eaſily judge by this ſtory, how much it would have been publiſhed and improved againſt them by their enemies.

SIR *John Floyer*, an eminent phyſician, publiſh'd an eſſay to prove cold bathing both ſafe and uſeful; wherein he gives an account of many great cures done by it, and preſents the world with an alphabetical catalogue of diſeaſes againſt which it has been ſucceſsful: And on this account, in the *epiſtle dedicatory*, and in his ſecond letter, he laments the diſuſe of the *baptiſmal immerſion* in *England*, which he ſays, continued till the year 1600. Indeed, he ſays, he will not concern himſelf in any theological diſputes, whither *immerſion* be eſſential to baptiſm, *&c.*

Sir John Floyer *proves* dipping *both ſafe and uſeful.*

'[h] FOR all that I ſhall aim at, ſays he, is 'to ſhew, that *immerſion* was generally 'practiſed by the *antients*; and that in this 'church it continued in uſe till the begin-'ning of the laſt age; and that there is 'not that danger in it, as parents appre-'hend; but inſtead of prejudicing the health 'of their children, *immerſion* would prevent

[h] Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 134.

'many

'many hereditary diſeaſes, if it were ſtill 'practiſed.'

HE cloſes his letter with obſerving, 'that 'the church of *England* continued the 'uſe of *immerſion* longer than any other 'chriſtian church in the *weſtern* parts of 'the world. For the *eaſtern* church, ſaith 'he, yet uſe it; and our church ſtill re-'commends the *dipping* of *infants* in her '*rubrick*, to which, I believe, the *Engliſh* 'will at laſt return, when phyſick has 'given them a clear proof by divers ex-'periments, that cold baths are both ſafe 'and uſeful. And, he ſays, they did great 'injury to their own children, and all poſte-'rity, who firſt introduc'd the alteration of 'this truly antient ceremony of *immerſion*, 'and were the occaſion of a degenerate, 'ſickly, tender race ever ſince.'

BUT to return. When the *Preſbyterians* found they could do nothing to Mr. *Oates* by due courſe of law, they endeavoured to raiſe the *mob* againſt him; and in this they were more ſucceſsful. For a little after, ſome who were known to be *Baptiſts*, going occaſionally to *Wethersfield* in that county, there was preſently an alarm given, that *Oates* and his companions were come to that town; upon which the *rabble* were raiſed, and ſeized thoſe innocent people. And for no other crime, but becauſe they were

Some Baptiſts *abuſed by the rabble.*

[1] *Ibid.* p. 134.

Anabap-

Anabaptiſts, they were dragged to a *pump*, and treated like the worſt of *villains*; neither was *Oates*, the perſon againſt whom they were chiefly enraged, amongſt them.

NOT long after this, *Oates* himſelf went to *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*. When ſome of the zealots for *infant-baptiſm* in that town heard where he was, without any other provocation but that of his daring to come there, they dragged him out of the houſe, and threw him into a *river*, boaſting they had thoroughly *dipt* him. *Mr. Oates thrown into a river.*

ABOUT this time Mr. *Edward Hutchinſon*, a learned and ingenious defender of the practice of baptizing *believers* only, in his *epiſtle dedicatory* to thoſe of the *baptized congregations*, put at the beginning of his treatiſe, *concerning the covenant and baptiſm*, gives the following account of the beginning and increaſe of that people in theſe latter times.

Mr. Hutchinſon's account of the Engliſh Baptiſts.

'YOUR *beginning*, ſays he, in theſe nations of late years was but ſmall; yet, when it pleaſed the Lord to diſpel thoſe clouds that over-ſhadowed us, and ſcatter ſome beams of the *goſpel* amongſt us, he gave you ſo great an increaſe, that *Sion* may ſay with admiration, *Who hath begotten me theſe*, &c.

'NOR is it leſs obſervable, that whereas other *reformations* have been carried on by the *ſecular arm*, and the countenance and allowance of the *magiſtrate*; as in *Luther's*

'time, by several *German* princes; the pro-
'testant reformation in *England*, by King
'*Edward*, Queen *Elizabeth*, &c. the *Pres-*
'*byterian* reformation, by a parliament,
'committee of estates, assembly of divines,
'besides the favour and assistance of great
'personages; you have had none of these
'to take you by the hand; but your pro-
'gress was against the impetuous current of
'human opposition, attended with such ex-
'ternal discouragements, as bespeak your
'embracing this despised truth an effect of
'heart sincerity, void of all mercenary
'considerations. Yea, how active has the
'*accuser of the brethren* been, to represent
'you in such frightful figures, exposing
'you by that mischievous artifice to popu-
'lar *odium*, and the lash of *magistracy*, in-
'somuch that the name of an *Anabaptist*
'was crime enough, which doubtless was a
'heavy obstacle in the way of many pious
'souls? And what our dissenting brethren
'have to answer upon that account, who,
'instead of taking up, have laid stumbling
'blocks in the way of *Reformation*, will
'appear another day. Yet, notwithstand-
'ing the strenuous oppositions of those
'great and learned ones, the mighty God of
'*Jacob* hath taken you by the hand, and
'said, *Be strong*.'

BUT to return, whilst the *Presbyterians* had the ascendant, the *persecution* against the *sectaries* continued; the members of the house

house of Commons, which now compos'd the parliament, had possess'd themselves of the supreme authority; the violence they had used to their colleagues, the king's tragical death, the change of the monarchy into a commonwealth, and the taxes impos'd on the people for an unnecessary war, had render'd them *odious* to the whole kingdom.

PETITIONS are made to them, in which their dissolution is demanded: They vote against a dissolution, and prepare a bill, by which all persons are forbid to present such petitions, under pain of being declared guilty of *high treason*.

It could not be doubted, that the members who had sat more than twelve years, and had but too much abused their power, would always retain the *supreme authority* in their hands, under colour of being the representatives of a republick, which properly consisted only of themselves. An. Dom. 1653.

Cromwel being therefore very certain this parliament was odious to the people, went to the house, *April* 20, 1653. attended with some *officers* and *soldiers*; and without any ceremony told them, he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use, and therefore they were to be immediately dissolved. A little after, he publishes a *declaration*, to justify the dissolution of the parliament; makes choice of an hundred and forty four *Cromwel dissolves the long parliament.*

persons, to take care of the government; and requires them to assemble at *Whitehall*, *July* 4. ensuing. These persons, when assembled, made no scruple to call themselves *a parliament*, and chose one *Rouse* for their speaker. They did nothing considerable in a session of more than five months. At last, on the 12*th* of *December*, the speaker, with a good number of the members, dissolv'd themselves, and return'd the *sovereign power* into the hands of *Cromwel* and the council of officers, beseeching them to take care of the government.

Is made protector.

Two days after, the council of *officers*, by virtue of the *authority* lately given them by the parliament, declared that for the future the government of the republick should reside in a single person, *viz.* *Oliver Cromwel*, captain-general of the forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who should have the title of protector of the three kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty one persons.

An. Dom. 1657.

THUS an end was put to the *Presbyterian* establishment, and *Cromwel* was confirmed in his *protectorship*, by a parliament, in the year 1657. with more power than was annexed to it by the council of *officers*. This was done by a solemn *instrument*, called *the humble petition and advice*; the parliament thereby shewing, it was not a law to be imposed on him, but an advice, which was submitted to his judgment and discretion, with

with freedom to accept or refuse it, as he should think proper. I shall only transcribe from thence what concerned religion. 'That his *highness* would encourage a 'godly *ministry* in these nations; and that 'such as do revile, and disturb them in 'the worship of God, may be punish'd according to law; and where laws are defective, new ones to be made: 'That 'the protestant christian religion, as it is 'contain'd in the old and new testament, 'be asserted and held forth for the publick 'profession of these nations, and no other: 'And that a confession of faith be agreed 'upon, and recommended to the people of 'these nations; and none to be permitted 'by words or writing, to revile or reproach 'the said confession of faith.'

Welwood, as quoted by *Rapin*[k], tells us, 'That as to the morals and conduct of the '*protector*, as a private person, they may 'be said to have been very regular. He 'was guilty of none of the vices, to which 'men are commonly addicted; *gluttony*, '*drunkenness*, *gaming*, *luxury*, *avarice*, 'were vices with which he was never re'proached; on the contrary, it is certain, 'he promoted virtuous men; as on the 'other hand, he was inflexible in his pu'nishments of vice and ill actions. It is 'true, his own preservation oblig'd him

Welwood's *character of him.*

[i] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 597.
[k] *Ibid.* p. 660.

‘ ſometimes to employ men of ill prin-
‘ ciples; but this is not uncommon to thoſe
‘ who are at the head of a government.

‘ Tho’ as to his religion he was an *Inde-*
‘ *pendent*, his principle was to leave every
‘ man at liberty in the religion he had cho-
‘ ſen, and never perſecuted any perſon on
‘ that account. He even connived at the
‘ private meetings of thoſe who remained
‘ attached to the church of *England*, tho’
‘ he was well informed of them. If they
‘ were not favour’d with the free and pub-
‘ lick exerciſe of their religion, it was be-
‘ cauſe they were conſider’d by him as *Roy-*
‘ *aliſts*, always ready to form plots in the
‘ king’s favour, and from whom conſe-
‘ quently he had great reaſon to ſecure him-
‘ ſelf. Tho’ he was in the ſentiments of the
‘ *Independents*, and therefore averſe to all
‘ union with the national church, he how-
‘ ever conſider’d all proteſtant churches as
‘ part of the proteſtant church in general;
‘ and without aiming to eſtabliſh *Indepen-*
‘ *dency* by force and violence, he expreſſed
‘ on all occaſions an extreme zeal for the
‘ proteſtant religion.’

BISHOP *Burnet* ſays[1]: ‘ A great deſign
‘ *Cromwel* had intended to begin his *kingſhip*
‘ with, if he had aſſumed it; he reſolv’d
‘ to ſet up a council in oppoſition to the
‘ congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*.

[1] *Hiſt. of his own time*, p. 77.

‘ He

'He intended it ſhould conſiſt of ſeven 'counſellors, and four *ſecretaries* for diffe-'rent *provinces*. The *ſecretaries* were to 'have 500 *l.* ſalary a piece, and to keep 'a correſpondence every where, to know 'the ſtate of religion all over the world; 'that ſo all good deſigns might be by 'their means protected and aſſiſted. *Stoupe* 'was to have the firſt *province*. They 'were to have a fund of 10,000 *l.* a 'year at their diſpoſal for ordinary emer-'gencies; but to be farther ſupplied, as 'occaſions ſhould require it.'

AND he further adds, that *Cromwel* ſaid once in council[m], 'That he hoped he 'ſhould make the name of an *Engliſhman* 'as great as ever that of a *Roman* had 'been.'

WELL might the biſhop then ſay, with reſpect to his government, as he does[n], 'If 'it be compar'd with thoſe of the two laſt 'kings, there will appear a very great diſ-'parity with regard to the glory and repu-'tation of the *Engliſh nation*. *James* I. and '*Charles* I. ſeemed to have ſtudied to diſ-'grace the *Engliſh* name; whereas *Crom-'wel* in the ſpace of four or five years 'carried the glory of his nation as far as 'poſſible, and in that reſpect was not 'inferiour to *Elizabeth*.'

[m] *Page* 81.

[n] *Vid.* Rapin, vol. II. p. 600.

HE is by his enemies charg'd with cruelty, for having, whilst *protector*, put some men to death, for conspiring against his person and government: 'That is, according to this reproach, says *Rapin* o, he 'should have patiently suffered the plots 'against him, and when one failed, liberty should have been given for a second 'and a third, till some one had succeeded. 'This deserves no confutation. But to shew 'that *Cromwel* was not for an unnecessary 'effusion of blood, we need only recite 'what is owned by the earl of *Clarendon*, 'who assures us p,

'THAT when it was proposed in a 'council of *officers*, that there might be a 'general *massacre* of the *Royalists*, *Crom-* 'wel would never consent to it.

'To form a just and rational idea of *Crom-* 'wel's character, says *Rapin* q, his conduct and 'actions in themselves must be examined, 'and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies. I shall only observe, says he, that 'the confusion which prevail'd in *England*, 'soon after the death of *Cromwel*, clearly 'shews the necessity of this usurpation. In 'general it can't be denied, that *Cromwel* 'was one of the greatest men in his age, if 'it is consider'd, that without the advantages

o *Vol.* II. *p.* 602.
p *Hist. Rebel.* vol. III. p. 509.
q *Rapin*, vol. II. *p.* 602.

'of

'of *birth* or *fortune*, he rose so near a 'throne, that it was in his power to mount 'it. *History* furnishes very few instances 'of this kind. *Cromwel*'s death was fol-'lowed with so much alterations in the 'government, that the interval between 'that and the restauration may be justly 'called a time of true *anarchy*. *Cromwel* 'should have had a successor like himself, 'to finish what he had so ably begun. But 'two so great men are not commonly 'found so near one another, nor often in 'the same age.'

A LITTLE before his death, a discovery was made of a conspiracy of the *Royalists*, forming in *England*, in favour of the king; upon which *Cromwel* erected a high court of *justice*, for trial of the criminals, and especially of the three principal ones, *viz.* *John Mordaunt*, brother of the earl of *Peterborough*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a rich and popular man in the county of *York*; and Dr. *Hewit*, a minister of the church of *England*[r].

An. Dom. 1658. *A conspiracy against him.*

MR. *Mordaunt* escaped death by the means of his wife, who bribed some of the judges, and prevailed with colonel *Mallory*, one of the two witnesses against her husband, to make his escape. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewit* were condemned and executed, *June* 8. 1658. Before the same court were

Some executed for it.

[r] *Ibid.* p. 599.

tried,

tried, condemned, hanged, and quartered for the same crime, *Ashton*, *Stacey*, and *Battaly*. Some others were condemned and pardon'd by *Cromwel*. Not to multiply any more the number of his enemies, it is certain he had a great many, and that those who had been most attached to him while he was believ'd to be in their view, hated him mortally when they found themselves deceived. The earl of *Clarendon* relates on this occasion a long address to the king, from several *Independents*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, brought him by a young gentleman, of an honourable extraction and great parts; by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwel*, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them, and so believe, that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to effect.

'SINCE the spirit, humour, and language, says the noble historian, of that people, and in truth of that time, cannot be better described and represented by that petition and address which was never published, and of which there remains no

[a] *Hist. Rebel.* vol. III. p. 489.

copy

'copy in any hand that I know of, but 'only the original which was presented to 'the king (it being so dangerous a thing 'for any man who remained in *England* 'to have any such transcript in his custody) 'it will not be amiss, says he, in this place 'to insert the petition and the address in the 'very words in which it was presented to 'his majesty, with the letter that accom-'panied it, from the gentleman mentioned 'before, who was an *Anabaptist* of special 'trust among them, and who came not 'with the petition, but expected the king's 'pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being 'sent by an officer who had served the 'king in an eminent command, and was 'now gracious among those sectaries, with-'out swerving in the least degree from his 'former principles and integrity; for that 'people always pretended a just esteem and 'value of all men, who had faithfully ad-'hered to the king, and lived soberly and 'virtuously.'

THE noble historian further says, 'That the gentleman who brought this ad-'dress, *&c.* brought likewise with him a 'particular letter to the king, from the 'gentleman that is before described, upon 'whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, 'the messenger principally depended, hav-'ing had much acquaintance and conver-'sation with him; who tho' he was an '*Anabaptist*, made himself merry with

'the

'the extravagancy and madneſs of his companions; and told this gentleman that though the firſt addreſs could not be prepared but with thoſe demands, which might ſatisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that was deſired by any of them, yet if the king gave them ſuch an encouragement as might diſpoſe them to ſend ſome of the wiſeſt of them to attend his majeſty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to make them his inſtruments to reduce the reſt to more moderate deſires, when they ſhould diſcern that they might have more protection and ſecurity from the king, than from any other power that would aſſume the government.

'THE king, adds he, believed that theſe diſtempers might in ſome conjuncture be of uſe to him; and therefore returned the general anſwer that is mentioned before; and that he would be willing to confer with ſome perſons of that party, truſted by the reſt, if they would come over to him; his majeſty being then at *Bruges*. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained ſome days there concealed. He was a perſon of very extraordinary parts, ſharpneſs of wit, readineſs and volubility of tongue, but an *Anabaptiſt*. He had been bred in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the

'inns

'inns of court, but being too young to 'have known the religion, or the govern-'ment of the precedent time, and his fa-'ther having been engaged from the be-'ginning againſt the king, he had ſucked 'in the opinions that were moſt prevalent, 'and had been a ſoldier in *Cromwel*'s life-'guard of horſe, when he was thought to 'be moſt reſolved to eſtabliſh a republick; 'but when that maſk was pulled off, he 'deteſted him with that rage, that he was 'of the combination with thoſe who re-'ſolved to deſtroy him by what way ſo-'ever, and was very intimate with *Synder-'come*. He had a great confidence of the 'ſtrength and power of that party, and 'confeſſed that their demands were extra-'vagant, and ſuch as the king could not 'grant; which, after they were once engaged 'in blood, he doubted not they would 'recede from, by the credit the wiſer men 'had amongſt them. He returned into '*England* very well ſatisfy'd with the 'king, and did afterwards correſpond very 'faithfully with his profeſſions, but left 'the king without any hope of other be-'nefit from that party, than by their in-'creaſing the faction and animoſity againſt '*Cromwel*; for it was manifeſt, they ex-'pected a good ſum of preſent money from 'the king, which could not be in his 'power to ſupply.

THE

THE *address*, *propositions*, and *letter* I have put into the *appendix*, N° V.

I MUST now return a little back, being unwilling for the sake of the exact order of time, to break in upon so remarkable a part of our civil *history*, with matters of so different a kind, which could have no connection therewith; and observe, that in the year 1654. the Rev. Mr. *William Britten*, who had embraced the principles of the *Baptists*, published a treatise, intituled, *The Moderate Baptist, briefly shewing scripture-way for that initiatory sacrament of baptism; together with divers queries, considerations, errors and mistakes, in and about the work of religion: Wherein may appear, that the Baptists of our times hold not those strange opinions as many heretofore have done; but as the scriptures are now more clearly understood, so they desire to come nearer to walk by the same light.* He in the *Epistle Dedicatory* apologizes for its publication, and assigns the causes which chiefly induced him thereto; and then gives a short account of *himself* to his countrymen, the well-affected people of *Northamptonshire*; the which you will find annexed to the *Epistle Dedicatory* of the said book; to which I refer you.

IN the year 1656. the *Baptist* churches in the county of *Somerset* published a confession of their faith, the which I have put in the *appendix*, N° III.

IN

IN the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* they apologize for their ſo doing; by ſaying, 'It may 'with ſome ſeem altogether needleſs and 'uſeleſs to bring to publick view a nar- 'rative of faith in ſuch a day as this is; eſ- 'pecially their having been the like brought 'forth by ſeveral *baptized* congregations 'formerly. Unto which we reply, that 'our publiſhing this *narrative* of our faith 'and practice, is not from any diſlike we 'found with the former confeſſion of our 'beloved brethren, whom we own, and 'with whom we are one both in faith and 'practice; neither is there any thing in ours 'contradictory to our brethren, that we 'know of, that have gone before us.

We mean the narrative publiſhed by the ſeven churches in London.

'WE can ſay, when the Lord ſet us firſt 'upon this work, we did not think of 'bringing it to publick view; but did it 'rather for a trial of our unity in the faith, 'for our more clear followſhip one with 'another, from our harmony in faith and 'practice.

'YET having finiſhed it according to 'our apprehenſions (and we believe a mea- 'ſure of the teachings of the Lord) now 'judge there is a more than ordinary ne- 'ceſſity for us thus to publiſh our faith.

'1. IN regard of the general charge 'laid upon our profeſſion, as if none in 'the *countries*, that profeſſed *baptiſm*, were 'of our brethrens judgment that publiſhed 'that confeſſion of faith in *London*, but

'hold

'hold free-will, falling away from grace, 'c. all which, through the grace of 'God we disclaim; and not only we, but 'to our knowledge, many other churches 'in the adjacent counties, who stand fast 'in the profession of the unchangeable 'love of God in Jesus Christ to his people.

'2. BEING very sensible of the great 'distractions and divisions that are amongst 'professing people in this nation, the many 'ways and wiles of *Satan* to seduce and 'deceive souls, the great departing from the 'faith, and that under glorious notions of 'spiritualness and holiness, *Satan* trans-'forming himself into an angel of light, 'and his ministers into ministers of righte-'ousness; we could not but judge it our 'bounden duty, in this our day, to come 'forth in a renewed *declaration* of our 'faith, as a publick testimony before all 'men, that through grace we do with 'one soul desire to cleave to the Lord, 'contending earnestly for the faith that 'was once given to the saints: for this 'being the great design of *Satan*, to de-'stroy the faith and practice of the gospel-'churches, we judge nothing more suit-'able and proper to us as churches of our 'Lord, wherein we might bear our wit-'ness for him (in this day of temptation) 'in print as well as in practice, than this 'our testimony to the faith and truth as it 'is in Jesus.'

Richard

Richard Cromwel was in the year 1658. without any oppoſition, proclaimed *protector* of the commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and addreſſes were preſented to him from all parts, ſigned by many thouſands, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to this dignity, and to aſſure him they would willingly hazard their lives and fortunes to ſupport him. But ſuch *addreſſes* are not always to be depended upon; experience having often ſhewn, they are far from being ſincere, tho' carefully expreſs'd in the ſtrongeſt terms. Richard Cromwel *proclaimed protector.*

THUS *Richard* was inſtall'd *ſucceſſor* to his father *Oliver*, and took the ſame oath, but his *protectorſhip*, which was but ſhort, was one entire ſeries of anarchy and confuſion, and pav'd the way for the reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

BISHOP *Burnet* obſerves [g] upon the new parliament (or convention as it was afterwards called) 'That ſuch unanimity ap-'peared in their proceedings, that there 'was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but 'upon one ſingle point. Yet that was a very 'important one. *Hale*, afterwards the fa-'mous chief-juſtice, moved, that a com-'mittee might be appointed to look into 'the propoſitions that had been made, and 'the conceſſions that had been offered by 'the late king during the war, particu- *The convention parliament.* *Biſhop* Burnet's *obſervation thereon.*

[g] *Hiſt. of his own time*, p. 88, 89.

'larly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from 'thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions 'as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to 'the king. This was ſeconded, but, ſays 'the biſhop, I do not remember by whom. 'It was foreſeen that ſuch a motion might 'be ſet on foot; ſo *Monk* was inſtructed 'how to anſwer it, whenſoever it ſhould be 'propoſed. He told the houſe, that there 'was yet, beyond all mens hope, an uni-'verſal quiet all over the nation; but there 'were many incendiaries ſtill on the watch, 'trying where they could firſt raiſe the 'flame. He ſaid, he had ſuch copious in-'formations ſent him of theſe things, that 'it was not fit they ſhould be generally 'known. He could not anſwer for the 'peace, either of the nation or of the ar-'my, if any delay was put to the ſending 'for the king. What need was their of 'ſending propoſitions to him? might they 'not as well prepare them, and offer them 'to him when he ſhould come over? He 'was to bring neither *army* nor *treaſure* 'with him, either to fright them or to 'corrupt them. So he moved, that they 'would immediately ſend commiſſioners to 'bring over the king, and ſaid, that he muſt 'lay the blame of all the blood or miſ-'chief that might follow, on the heads of 'thoſe who ſhould ſtill inſiſt on any mo-'tion that might delay the preſent ſettle-'ment of the nation. This was eccho'd

'with

'with such a shout over the house, that 'the motion was no more insisted on. 'This, says the bishop, was indeed the 'great service that *Monk* did----To the 'king's coming in without conditions may 'be well imputed all the errors of his reign.' And it may be added, many mischiefs that followed afterwards.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an account of some of the most eminent and leading men among the ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

IT is well known, that nothing has been more common than for the *writers* in general against the *Baptists*, to represent them to the world as *ignorant* and *illiterate* men. Thus Mr. *Russen* triumphs over them, at the close of his first argument, in the fifth chapter of his treatise, entitled, *Fundamentals without a Foundation.*

'If any of their leading teachers, says 'he[a], cannot read this last paragraph without an interpreter, I do not think them 'fit men to dispute about such principles:

[a] Stennet *against* Russen, p. 121.

'let them lay aſide learning, which their 'ignorance betrays, and follow their trades, 'wherein they are better ſkilled.'

AND towards the cloſe of his *preface*, he inſults them for their ſuppoſed ignorance of *grammar*. 'If here, ſays he[b], 'they cavil at my *moods*, *participles*, *tenſes*, 'and *diſtinctions*; if they carp at ſome 'ſentences of *Latin* ſcattered here and 'there, let them blame their own *ignorance!* 'Tis for want of ſuch *human advantages*, that they ſo ſtrangely wreſt 'the Scriptures, and know not rightly to 'divide the word of truth.'

THE vanity of this *author* is ſufficiently expoſed by his *anſwerer*, the reverend and learned Mr. *Stennet*; and I may venture to ſay, that the opinion of the *Baptiſts* in general in this affair is well expreſſed by the reverend Mr. *Keach* and Mr. *Delaune*, who ſay[c], 'Tis certain, that no ſort of men 'have more need of *learning*, than the '*miniſters* of the goſpel, becauſe their employment is of the higheſt concern, *viz.* '*rightly to divide the word of truth*; and 'therefore that ſacred office is not to be 'intruded into, but by perſons duly qualified and called. And moſt certain it is, 'that human literature, without grace, is 'a dangerous enemy to the true chriſtian

[b] Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, p. 18.

[c] Keach *and* Delaune *to the reader*, Sacred Philology, Book II.

'religion;

'religion; and barely conſidered in itſelf, 'gives no right to the exerciſe of that ſa-'cred function, any more than the meaneſt 'of mechanick arts. For, as Dr. *Carlton*, 'formerly biſhop of *Chicheſter*, well ſays, 'a *layman*, that hath the Spirit of God, is 'better able to judge of the church and its 'members, than a man in *eccleſiaſtical* 'function, that hath not the Spirit of God. 'And *Juſtin Martyr* excellently, *Infelix 'eſt ſapientia extra verbum Dei ſapere:* ſo 'that it is not the formality of *academi-'cal* degrees, nor any *philoſophical* dexterity, 'which is to be exerciſed in the things that 'may be known by the light of natural 'reaſon, nor variety of *languages*, that 'qualifies a *preacher:* for if things will 'travel beyond their road, and muſt needs 'be defining things beyond their ſphere or 'reach, they become extravagant and ſaucy.'

CONCERNING *unlearned* mens *wreſting the holy Scriptures*, it may be proper to conſider in what ſenſe they are *unlearned*; for men may be learned or unlearned in divers reſpects. A man may be learned in *arithmetic*, that is unlearned in *logic*; or he may be learned in *grammar*, and unlearned in *geometry*; and learned in *philoſophy*, though unlearned in *divinity*. For if a man ſhould attain to ſome perfection in the ſeven liberal arts and ſciences[d],

[d] *Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Muſic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy.*

and beſides theſe ſhould gain the knowledge of ſeveral languages, and be a proficient in moral and natural philoſophy, theſe would be rare accompliſhments, make him a lovely man, uſeful, and ſet him in a ſtation above his fellows; but yet he might be ignorant in the things of God, and conſequently an *unlearned* man in the account of St. *Peter*. For all that wiſdom is no more than St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, even *the wiſdom of this world*. Therefore a great *ſcholar* in ſecular or human *learning* may poſſibly be *unlearned* in *divinity*, yea, tho' he can read *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

THE reverend biſhop *Taylor* obſerved, that *Hebrew* and *Greek* ſcholars are not bleſſed with an aſſured knowledge of divine truth, above ſuch as can only read the Scriptures in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 'For 'ſays he[e], I know no man that ſays, that 'the *Scriptures* in *Hebrew* and *Greek* are 'eaſy and certain to be underſtood, and 'that they are hard in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 'The difficulty is in the thing, however it 'be expreſſed; the leaſt is in the *language*. 'If the *original* languages were our mo'ther-tongue, *Scripture* is not much the 'eaſier to us; and a natural *Greek* or a '*Jew*, can with no more reaſon or autho'rity obtrude his interpretations upon other 'mens *conſciences*, than a man of another 'nation.'

[e] *Polemic. Diſc.* p. 974. Hook's *Apol.* p. 59.

IT

IT is to be feared, too many, by their plauſible deportments, and the favour of their friends, get into *orders*, and profeſs to be *miniſters* of Chriſt, before they believe in him, or love him, or have any good-will to his intereſt; who muſt be acknowledged *ſcholars*, but yet *unlearned*, that is, better acquainted with the writings of *Ariſtotle* than the epiſtles of St. *Paul*; learned in *philoſophy*, but unlearned in *divinity*; learned in *languages*, *arts* and *ſciences*, but unlearned in the *Scriptures* of truth. And ſuch as theſe are like enough to *wreſt the Holy Scriptures, to their* own and other mens *hurt*. *Tertullian* obſerved long ago, that *philoſophers* have been the chief fathers of *hereticks*. And a learned biſhop of the church of *England*[f], who wrote upon the knowledge of the tongues, ſays, 'There 'hath not been a greater *plague* to the 'chriſtian religion, than *ſchool* divinity; 'where men take upon them the liberty 'to propoſe new queſtions, make nice di-'ſtinctions, and raſh concluſions of divine 'matters, toſſing them up and down with 'their tongues like *tennis* balls. And from 'hence proceeded all the dangerous *here-'ſies*, and cruel bickerings about them, 'falling from words to blows. The firſt '*divinity* ſchool we read of, was ſet up 'at *Alexandria*, by *Pantænus*, and from

[f] *Naked truth*, p. 5, 6. Keach's *Parables*, *Preface*.

'thence ſoon after ſprang up that damn-
'able *hereſy* of the *Arians*, which over-
'run all chriſtendom, and was the cauſe of
'the deſtruction of ſo many millions of
'chriſtians, both of body and ſoul, which
'before this were ſo groſs and ſenſual,
'that none took them up but diſſolute or
'frantick people, and ſoon vaniſhed. But
'after this ſchool, ſubtle way of arguing
'was brought into chriſtianity, *hereſy* grew
'more refined, and ſo ſubtle, that the plain
'and pious *fathers* of the church knew not
'how to lay hold of it, the ſchool diſtinc-
'tions and evaſions baffled them, and ſo
'thoſe *ſophiſters*, proud of their conqueſt,
'triumphed, and carried away a ſpecious
'appearance of truth as well as *learning*,
'or rather *cunning*, inſomuch, that many
'godly perſons were deluded, and fell into
'them; and many of their *hereſies* continue
'unto this day.'

LET men therefore take heed how they cry up man's wiſdom. The knowledge of the tongues none will or can deny to be uſeful; but it is that ſtreſs which is by ſome laid upon it, rendring it eſſential to a *miniſter*, that gives the offence. So then, we acknowledge this kind of *literature* is good, as a hand-maid, *Hagar* like; but if it muſt needs be *miſtreſs*, and uſurp *authority* in the family, if, like ſcoffing *Iſhmael*, it will mock at the ſpirit and the ſimplicity of the goſpel, let it be caſt out.

I SHALL

I SHALL now give a brief account of ſome of the *Baptiſt* miniſters who lived in the times to which the preceding hiſtory refers, whereby it will appear, that men of the greateſt *learning* and *piety*, have neither been aſhamed nor afraid in the worſt of times to ſtand up in vindication of a principle truly *apoſtolical*, though ever ſo much deſpiſed and hated. Mr. *John Smith*, of whom mention is made in the foregoing hiſtory, was a divine of the church of *England*, and did in the former part of the reign of King *James* I. embrace the opinion of the *Baptiſts*. I can find no account of him but from his enemies [g]; and yet they acknowledge he was a man of right eminent parts. He began firſt with a diſlike of the ceremonies of the church, and the uſe of preſcribed forms of prayer; and on this occaſion had a diſpute with Mr. *Hilderſham* and others; but his diſſatisfaction ſtill remaining, and having publiſhed ſomething againſt theſe things, he was forced to fly out of the land, to eſcape the ſeverity of the *perſecution* then in *England*. And ſo well was he beloved and reſpected by thoſe that were inclined to nonconformity, that a great company followed him out of their native country to *Leyden* in *Holland*. John Smith.

HERE he at firſt joined himſelf with the *Engliſh* congregation, who were called

[g] Baylie's *Diſſuaſive*, p. 15.

Browniſts,

Brownists, and his *piety* and *learning* soon procured him the reputation of being one of the *grandees* of the separation [h].

BUT being now more zealously set to search out the truth, and in a country where he might safely divulge his *opinions*, he quickly after declared against several of the *principles* and *practices* of the *Brownists*, and among the rest that of their *baptizing infants*. This exposed him to the hatred and censures of his brethren of the separation. And though they were in exile themselves, for the liberty of their consciences, yet they could not, with that charity and moderation as they ought, bear that others should differ from them: they cast him out of the church for his errors, with all that adhered to him. They represented him to be one that had proclaimed war against God's everlasting covenant, and a murderer of the souls of babes and sucklings, by depriving them of the visible seal of salvation. They published several books against him; wherein they endeavoured to expose both him and his opinions to the world. Two were written against him by Mr. *Ainsworth*, elder of the church which cast him out; one was published against him by Mr. *Johnson*, pastor of the antient *English* church at *Amsterdam*; and another by Mr. *Robinson*, mi-

[h] Pagit's *Heresiography*, p. 62.

nister

niſter of the *Engliſh* congregation at *Leyden*; with ſome others.

IN theſe they lay ſeveral groſs things to his charge. As that he was againſt reading the Scriptures in publick worſhip; that he would not allow any tranſlation to be the word of God, but the original only; that he *baptized himſelf*, ſuppoſing there was then no right *adminiſtrator* in being. They call him a man of a wolfiſh nature; one whom God had ſtruck with blindneſs; a brute beaſt, and the like, as hath been before obſerved.

BUT it is to be obſerved, that at the ſame time that they accuſe him after this manner, they are forced to acknowledge that he was more refined than the common ſorts of the *Anabaptiſts*, and that he did not go with that heretical ſect. Nay more, that he had ſuch a diſlike and averſion to their groſs errors, that his conſcience would not permit him to be re-baptized by any of them. And if, according to their accuſation, which, as I have ſhewn, is very unlikely, he *baptized himſelf*, it was this that led him to it. The *Engliſh* refugees were ſuch, as in his opinion had no true *baptiſm* themſelves, having only been ſprinkled in their *infancy*; and the foreign *Anabaptiſts* were ſuch as denied Chriſt's having taken fleſh of the virgin *Mary*, the lawfulneſs of *magiſtracy*, and the like, which he and his followers looked upon as very great

great *errors*. So that neither the *one* nor the *other* could be thought by him to be proper *adminiſtrators* of *baptiſm*.

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith*'s opinions prevailed much, eſpecially, that of baptizing *believers* only; and he ſoon had *proſelytes* enough to form a diſtinct *church* of that *perſuaſion*, even among the *Engliſh* exiles. He baptized two *miniſters*, who after his deceaſe came into *England*, brought ſeveral of his congregation with them, and very much promoted this opinion at *London* both by their preaching and writings.

Mr. Tho. Helwiſſe, *Mr.* John Moreton.

HE writ ſeveral treatiſes, which are not now to be met with; as *The Character of the Beaſt*; *A Dialogue of Baptiſm*; his *Differences with the Brethren of the Antient Separation*; and his *Reply to Mr.* Clifford's *Chriſtian Plea*.

THE time of his death does not appear: but by a book written by Mr. *Robinſon* in the year 1614. it appears he was then dead, and that a great part of his congregation were returned into *England*, with the aforeſaid perſons.

IN which book mention is made of a a *confeſſion* of *faith*, which I have put in the *appendix*, No IV. publiſhed by the remainder of Mr. *Smith*'s church after his death. This was publiſhed in the year 1611. ſo that its probable he died in *exile* about the year 1610.

THE

THE order of time leads me to give some account of Mr. *Tho. Helwisse*. He had not, as the former, the advantage of a learned education, but appears by his writings to have been a man of good natural parts, and not without some acquired. *Mr.* Tho. Helwisse.

THE first thing we meet with concerning him is, that he was a member of the antient church of *Separatists*, which had been founded at the establishment of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign; and was very serviceable to that people when they transported themselves out of *England* into *Holland*, to escape *persecution* [i].

WHILE he continued among them, which was some time, he was esteemed a man of eminent faith, charity and spiritual gifts. But when Mr. *Smith* had occasioned the controversy about *infants baptism* to be revived among them, he was one of those who was convinced of the invalidity and unlawfulness of such *baptisms*, and was accordingly excommunicated with the rest of that persuasion [k].

HE received his baptism from Mr. *Smith*, and was one of the first in the constitution of his church, and after his death had the care of that people committed to him. He did not go on with the same comfort and *Baptized by Mr.* Smith.

[i] Robinson *of Com.* p. 41.
[k] Johnson's *Enquiry*, p. 63.

ſucceſs as Mr. *Smith* had done; yet they who upbraided him on this account, did at the ſame time acknowledge[1], that his preaching and writings had made ſome *proſelytes* to his opinions, and occaſioned them to reject their *infant* baptiſm.

Is oppoſed by the Browniſts.

THE chief oppoſers of Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church were the *Browniſts*, from whom they had ſeparated. Theſe people writ againſt them with great warmth, and called them *Hereticks*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Freewillers*, &c. and yet, in the ſame writings, they made ſeveral conceſſions in their favour, which cleared them from thoſe extravagant opinions which ſome held who went under thoſe names.

FOR they acknowledge, that Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his people diſclaimed free-will, or power in a man's ſelf to work out his own ſalvation: That though they excluded *infants* from *baptiſm*, and from being members of the viſible church, yet they were ſo charitable, as to believe that all *infants*, dying before they had committed actual ſin, were ſaved: That they held an election of certain perſons to eternal life, upon the foreſight of faith and holineſs; and agreed with the *Browniſts* in the main truths of the goſpel. And as to their furniture and morals, they ſay, they were ſuch as had come to ſome degree of knowledge and godlineſs: that they had a *zeal for God*, tho' in their

[1] Robinſon *of Com.* p. 48.

opinion

opinion, *not according to knowledge*; and that when they found a perſon in their communion guilty of ſin, they proceeded to cenſure him for it [m].

ONE would think that a *people* of whom all this could be ſaid, ſhould have met with better treatment and more kind uſage than they did, tho' they might differ from their *brethren* in ſome leſſer points of religion.

Publiſhes a confeſſion of faith.

A LITTLE after Mr. *Smith*'s death, Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his people publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith. This, if it could be met with, would give us a true account of their opinions. It was ſuppoſed to have been chiefly drawn up by Mr *Smith* himſelf, before his deceaſe; but it was called, *The Confeſſion of Faith, publiſhed in certain concluſions, by the remainder of Mr.* Smith's *company*, and came out in the year 1611. At the end of it there was an *appendix*, giving ſome account of Mr *Smith*'s laſt ſickneſs and death.

MR. *Robinſon*, the paſtor of an *Engliſh* congregation of *Brownifts* at *Leyden*, publiſhed three years after, his *Remarks* upon it; and has therein collected thoſe paſſages which were thought the moſt obſcure or erronious in it.

ABOUT the ſame time alſo Mr. *Helwiſſe* began to reflect upon his own conduct, and that of the other *Engliſh* diſſenters, in leaving their own country and

[m] Robinſon *of communion*, p. 73, &c.

friends,

friends, and flying into a ſtrange land to eſcape perſecution: whether this did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not rather to return, that they might bear a teſtimony for the truth, in their own land, where it was in danger of being wholly extinguiſhed; and that they might alſo encourage and comfort their brethren who were there ſuffering *perſecution* for Chriſt's ſake. The concluſion of this was, that he and his church quickly left *Amſterdam*, and removed to *London*; where they continued their church ſtate, and aſſemblies for worſhip, as publickly as the evil of the times would permit. And to juſtify this conduct, he wrote a treatiſe, entitled, *A Short Declaration*, &c. wherein he endeavours to ſhew in what caſes it was unlawful to fly in times of *perſecution*.

Leaves Holland, *and with ſome others comes to* London.

BUT this greatly provok'd his *brethren* the *Nonconformiſts* in exile. They aſcribed it to his natural confidence under the appearance of ſpiritual courage. They cenſured it as vain glory, ſo to challenge the king and ſtate to their faces, and call it avowing wilful perſecution; and Mr. *Robinſon* writ an anſwer to him, from whence this account is collected.

IN the year 1615. Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church at *London*, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, *Perſecution for Religion judged and condemned*. 'Tis true, there is no author's name

Publiſhes a treatiſe, entitled, Perſecution judged and condemned.

name to it. But at the end of the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* inſtead of names, it is ſubſcribed thus, *By Chriſt's unworthy witneſſes, his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, commonly, but moſt falſly, called Anabaptiſts.* But it appears to be theirs, becauſe towards the end of the book, to clear themſelves from thoſe groſs errors held by ſome *Anabaptiſts*, and to prove their *orthodoxy* in the point of Chriſt's incarnation, the lawfulneſs of magiſtracy, *&c.* they refer the reader to the *confeſſion of faith* beforementioned, printed four years before this, and call it *their confeſſion.*

IN this, beſides their expoſing, by ſeveral excellent arguments, the great ſin of *perſecution*, they take the opportunity of clearing themſelves of ſeveral falſe charges caſt upon them, and of making known ſome of their chief opinions. They reject the *baptiſm* of *infants*, as being a practice that has no foundation in Scripture; and all *baptiſm* received either in the church of *Rome* or *England*, they looked upon to be invalid, becauſe received in a falſe church, and from *antichriſtian miniſters.*

THEY aſſert, that every man has a right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion; and that to perſecute any on that account, is illegal and antichriſtian.

THEY acknowledge *magiſtracy* to be God's *ordinance*, and that kings, and ſuch as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in

all civil matters, not only for fear, but alſo for conſcience ſake.

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful: and declare, that all of their profeſſion were willing in faithfulneſs and truth to ſubſcribe the oath of allegiance.

THEY proteſt againſt that doctrine of the *Papiſts*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects; calling it a *damnable* and *curſed* doctrine, which their ſouls abhor; and alſo againſt the error of the *Familiſts*, who, to avoid *perſecution*, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY own, that ſome called *Anabaptiſts* held ſeveral ſtrange opinions contrary to them; and endeavour to clear themſelves from deſerving any cenſure on that account, by ſhewing, that it was ſo in ſome of the primitive churches: as ſome in the church of *Corinth* denied the reſurrection of the dead; ſome in the church at *Pergamos* held the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; and yet Chriſt and his apoſtles did not condemn all for the errors of ſome. But that which they chiefly inveigh againſt, is the pride, luxury, and oppreſſion of the *lordly* biſhops, and the pretended ſpiritual power, by which, they ſay, many were expoſed to confiſcation of goods, long and lingering impriſonments, hanging, burning, and baniſhment.

How

How long Mr. *Helwisse* lived, and continued the elder of this church of *Baptists* at *London*, I cannot find. The books wrote against them about this time shew, that they went on with great courage and resolution; and notwithstanding the severities used against them by the civil power, increased very much in their numbers.

ONE *author*, to prove their doctrines plain and easy to be understood, particularly that of *Baptism*, says, [n] 'witness the 'multitude of their disciples.' And when the famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* united their forces, to confute their supposed *error*, they apologized for their attempt, alledging, that the people of this persuasion took great pains to propagate their doctrine; and that divers persons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them, as has been before observed.

AMONG their other *proselytes* about this time, there was one at *London*, who being severely reflected upon for his leaving the church of *England*, and joining with such an heretical people, as they were then esteemed, wrote a letter to inform his relations of his real opinion, and what he had to offer in defence of it. This letter falling into the hands of a zealous son of the church, before it came to the persons intended, he immediately published it, with an answer to it. He says it was in-

[n] *Anabaptism unmasked, by* J. P. p. 61.

dited by a principal elder of that ſeparation; and if ſo, in all probability Mr. *Helwiſſe* was the *author* of it. It bears date at *London* the 10th of *May* 1622. and contains in a little compaſs, the ſtate of this controverſy. The ſpirit and management of the *Baptiſts* in thoſe times, is very well repreſented by it, as you may ſee by turn-back to *page* 133. of this *hiſtory*, where the ſame is recited.

Mr. John Morton.

Mr. *John Morton* was another of Mr. *Smith*'s diſciples, and contemporary with Mr. *Helwiſſe*. I can find but very little concerning him.

IN the *preface* to the two publick diſputations, about *infant-baptiſm*, between Dr. *Gunning* and Mr. *Denn*, I find, after Mr. *Denn* had mentioned ſeveral *authors* who had written in defence of *infant-baptiſm*, he adds 'Have we not had alſo 'many who have laboured not a little on 'the oppoſite party, and both by their 'pens and ſufferings teſtified againſt the '*baptiſm* of *infants*? As *Morton*, with ſome 'others contemporary, the miniſters of '*Tranſilvania*, and ſince of later years '*Blackwell*, *Tombes*, *Cornwall*, *Fiſher*, *Lamb* 'ſenior, *Lamb* junior, *Whiter*, *Haggar*, 'with many others.' So that this *Morton*, who lived before the civil wars, did both write and ſuffer for the cauſe of the *Baptiſts*; though a particular account of theſe things cannot now be obtained.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH this man might after his return from *Holland*, ſtay ſome time at *London* with Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church; yet there appears a probability of his ſetling afterwards in the country, and preaching to ſome people there: for at the beginning of the civil wars, when they were demoliſhing an old *wall* near *Colcheſter*, there was found hid in it the copy of a book, written by *J. Morton*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon.

THE *General Baptiſts* were very fond of it, ſoon got it printed, and it has ſince received ſeveral impreſſions.

THE *author* of this book appears to have been a man of conſiderable learning and parts, one that underſtood the *oriental* languages, and was acquainted with the writings of the *fathers*, but a very zealous *Remonſtrant* or *Arminian*. It is entitled, *Truth's Champion*; and contains thirteen chapters on the following heads:

1. THAT Chriſt died for all men.
2. OF his dying for all, to ſave all.
3. OF his power given out to all.
4. OF predeſtination.
5. OF election.
6. OF free-will.
7. OF falling away.
8. OF original ſin.
9. OF baptizing, or baptiſm.
10. OF the miniſtry.
11. OF love.

12. OF those that hold that God hath appointed or destinated unavoidably all the actions of men, and the said effects that follow.

13. OF the man *Adam*, and of the man Christ; with answer to divers objections on the same.

IT is written in a very good stile, and the arguments are managed with a great deal of art and skill; so that those who follow the *Remonstrants* scheme of doctrines, do not value it without a cause.

BUT leaving this *Gentleman*, let us come to those times that are nearer us, in which we may have a more particular account of the chief persons of this persuasion; and we shall find, that as *knowledge* and *liberty* has increased, so there have been still men of greater learning and reputation, who have embraced the *opinion* of the *Baptists*.

Mr. John Tombes.

MR. *John Tombes*, B. D. did about the beginning of the civil wars embrace this *opinion*; and by his learned writings promoted it more than any one man of those times.

HE was born at *Bewdly* in *Worcestershire*, in the year of our Lord 1603. and his parents designing him for the sacred function of the ministry, took care to have him timely instructed at the grammar-school; where he proved so good a proficient, that at fifteen years of age he was found

found fit for the *University*, and accordingly was then ſent to *Oxford*, and educated in *Magdalen-hall*, under the famous Mr. *William Pemble*, author of *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, and ſeveral other learned treatiſes.

HERE, by his good genius, his diligent ſtudies, and the advantage of ſuch an accompliſhed tutor, his improvements were uncommon, and he quickly gained the reputation of a perſon of incomparable parts and learning; and therefore, upon the deceaſe of his tutor, which happened in 1624. he was choſen to ſucceed him in the catechetical lecture in this hall, when he was yet but twenty one years of age, and of ſix years ſtanding in the univerſity. But notwithſtanding this, he approved himſelf an excellent diſputant, and good divine, upon the principles of the Anti-remonſtrants.

Is choſen catechetical lecturer at Magdalen-hall, Oxford.

HE held this lecture about ſeven years, and then left *Oxford*, and went to *Worceſter*, and after that to *Lemſter* in *Herefordſhire*; at both which places he made himſelf very popular by his preaching. I do not find that he had any ſettlement in the former of theſe places; only was very famous in that city, about the year 1630. for his having a more powerful way of preaching than ordinary. But he was poſſeſſed of the living at *Lemſter*, and enjoyed it ſeveral years. This, though a large pariſh, yet was but a poor cure, ſuch as would hardly afford him a maintenance, and what ſome

Leaves Oxford.

Obtains the living at Lemſter.

thought much below his merit. But the Lord Viscount *Soudamore*, who had a great respect for him, was pleased to make some addition to it, of which Mr. *Tombes* made a thankful acknowledgment in the first book that he published *. He was among the first of the clergy of those times, who endeavoured a reformation in the church, and the purging out of all human inventions in the worship of God; and while he continued in this parish, preached an excellent sermon on that subject, which was afterward printed by an order of the House of Commons. But this exposed him to the rage of the church party; and therefore at the very beginning of the civil wars, some of the king's forces coming into that country, he was in 1641. drove from his habitation, and plundered of almost all he had in the world †.

Is plundered there.

Goes to Bristol.

UPON this he fled to *Bristol*, which was in the parliament's possession; and general *Fiennes*, who then had the command of that city, gave him the living of *All-Saints* there, in consideration of his great losses.

HE had not been there above a year, before the city was besieg'd by prince *Rupert* and his army, and a plot formed by their friends within, to deliver up the city, to burn the houses, and *massacre* the inhabitants.

* *Christ. Com. against scandalizers*, 1641.

† *Præcursor*, p. 25.

bitants. But this was very ſeaſonably diſcovered and prevented. Mr. *Tombes* on the day of publick thankſgiving obſerved by the city on this occaſion, preached two very ſuitable ſermons, and drew a ſhort account of this bloody plot, and the happy means of its being prevented; which with the ſermons was ſent up to *London*, and printed by an order of parliament.

BUT this had like to have coſt him dear. For the next year following, the city was taken by the king's party, his wife and children again plundered, and a ſpecial warrant out for the apprehending of him; ſo that it was with great difficulty, and by a ſpecial providence of God, that he eſcaped, and got ſafe to *London* with his wife and children, on *Sept.* 22. 1643 [q].

Is plundered again, eſcapes to London.

WHEN he had been a little time at *London*, and acquainted himſelf with ſeveral miniſters, who were now come from all parts, to form the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, he took opportunity to divulge to them his ſcruples concerning *infant-baptiſm*. It appears, he had entertained ſome doubts about this practice very early; for in the year 1627. when he was lecturer at *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxford*, being led by the courſe of theſe lectures to examine this point, he then diſcovered the inſufficiency of all the common arguments uſually brought

Divulges his ſcruples about infant-baptiſm.

[q] *Apology*, p. 7.

to justify that practice; and rested wholly upon those words of the *apostle*, *Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy.* And when he held the living at *Lemster*, which obliged him to practise the *baptizing* of *infants*, he declares this was the only scripture that he built upon; and frequently told his *auditors*, that that text was the only warrant for it.

1 Cor. vii. 14.

BUT when he was at *Bristol*, he met with an ingenious *Baptist*, who, in a dispute with him, did so fully answer his argument from that only *text*, as put him to a stand. He would not rashly and all at once, cast off an opinion and practice so universally received; and yet, as a man that durst not oppose the truth, whoever brought it, he resolved to consider the matter more fully, and that if ever he came to *London*, where he should have a greater advantage both of men and books, he would more strictly examine the history of *Pædobaptism*, and consult his brethren of the assembly about this matter.

BEING therefore now come to *London*, he put his resolution into practice, by reading *Vossius*'s *Theses de Pædobaptismo*; and examining the antient testimonies therein, he found, that in point of *antiquity*, the matter was not so clear as he had taken it to be; that *infant-baptism* began first to be

[r] *Apology*, p. 6.

practised

practised in cases of *supposed necessity* only, conceiving that it conferred grace, and saved all that received it, and that afterwards it grew to be the ordinary practice. And as to the holiness of *believers* children, that only *text* he had so long hung upon, he thought that no *protestants* of learning had expounded it of *legitimation*; but meeting with *Camerarius*'s notes, then newly printed at *Cambridge*, and afterwards with *Musculus*, *Melanchthon*, and *Beza*, who were all of that *opinion*, and prove by good arguments, that this must be the *apostle*'s meaning, and that no other sense is suitable to the case he was there resolving; he thereupon became fully satisfied, that *infant-baptism* was without any real foundation, either from *scripture* or *antiquity*.

[s] HOWEVER, he still resolved to consult the most learned of his *brethren*, and hear the utmost that could be said on the other side; and accordingly there was a meeting of the *London* ministers in *January* 1643. The great Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Blake*, and Mr. *Hen. Scudder*, are particularly mentioned as present at it. *Consults some divines thereupon.*

THE question proposed was, what *scripture* there was for *infant-baptism*? Mr. *Tombes* told them plainly, he doubted there was none. The place they chiefly insisted

[s] *Apology*, p. 8.

upon

upon was *Mat.* xix. 14. *For of such is the kingdom of heaven.* But this he shewed them was on many accounts insufficient for that purpose.

Is misrepresented by them.

THE whole issued without any satisfaction to Mr. *Tombes*; and he complained that several of them did afterwards misrepresent him, as to what then passed.

THE *assembly* of divines were now sitting at *Westminster*, and had declared, that their design was to reform religion in *England* and *Scotland*, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. And Mr. *Tombes* was also informed, by one of that *assembly*, that they had appointed a *committee* to consider the point of *infant-baptism*.

Delivers his reasons to the committee.

WHEREUPON he drew up in *Latin*, the chief reasons of his doubting the lawfulness of that practice, and sent them to Mr. *Whittaker* the chairman of that *committee*; hoping that an *assembly* of such grave and learned *divines* would either answer the scruples of a *brother* in the ministry; or, if they appeared to be justly founded, that they would according to their professions and covenant, endeavour to reform this abuse of the *ordinance* of *baptism*.

But receives no answer.

HE waited many months, but could get no answer, or hear that the *point* was so much as admitted to a debate in the *assembly*. Instead of that, he found that some of the *assembly*, both by *sermons* and *pamphlets*,

phlets, endeavoured to render odious to the people thoſe that ſhould deny *baptiſm* to *infants*; that they paſſed a vote, tending to explode, if not cenſure, any that ſhould but diſpute againſt it; and that inſtead of conſidering his arguments impartially, his papers were toſſed up and down from one to another, in order to expoſe him[t].

BUT that which was ſtill worſe, being now *miniſter* of *Fenchurch* in *London*, care was taken to prejudice his pariſhioners againſt him, under the notion of his being an *Anabaptiſt*. Though he medled not with any thing of this matter in the *pulpit*, they refuſed to come and hear him, and reſolved at the expiration of the year, to withold his maintenance from him. It happened, juſt after his *ſtipend* was taken away at *Fenchurch*, for not practiſing the *baptiſm* of *infants*, that the honourable ſocieties of the *Temple* wanted a preacher; whereupon ſome who knew Mr. *Tombes* to be a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, ſollicited for the bringing of him thither. This was at length obtained for him; but not without great difficulty, and a promiſe that he would not meddle with the controverſy about *infant-baptiſm* in the pulpit. Which promiſe he made; but upon theſe two conditions: That no one did preach for the *bap-*

His maintenance withheld from him.

He is choſen by the templers.

[t] *Apology*, p. 9, 10.

tizing

tizing of infants in his pulpit; and that no laws were likely to be enacted, to make the denial of *infant-baptism* penal.

And dismissed from them.

HE continued in this place about four years; and then was dismissed, for publishing his first *Treatise* against *infant-baptism*; which contained his objections against that practice, before sent to the *assembly* of divines, and his *examen* of Mr. *Marshal*'s sermon on *infant-baptism*.

FOR this he was censured as a man of a restless spirit, and one that had a mind to encrease the divisions and confusions of the times; and others represented it as a breach of his promise of silence in this matter. But in his *apology* he clears himself very handsomely from all these charges; and shews, that he had such provocations, as made his publishing of this both *just* and *necessary*. He had waited nine months for the *assembly*'s answer to his doubts; but instead of receiving any, his papers were handed about, and by some publickly exposed in their pulpits.

WHEN he had long sollicited Mr. *Marshal*'s answer to the remarks he had made upon his sermon, the best return he could get was, that since he had a *place* for his ministry, without *baptizing* of *infants*, he expected him to be quiet.

[u] *Præcursor*, p. 25.

WHEN

WHEN he wanted the *assembly*'s approbation of him as a *minister*, he was told by the *examiner*, that there were many of the *assembly* that did scruple in conscience the giving approbation to him, because of his *opinion*. He was also informed, that in *New England* there was a law made, and some proceedings thereupon, against those that denied the *baptism* of *infants*; That here in *England*, the *directory*, which enjoins the *baptizing* of *infants*, was published with an *ordinance* of parliament, to make the not using of it *penal*; and that many godly, learned, and prudent persons, both of those that differed from him, as well as of those that agreed with him in this *point*, earnestly requested the publishing of his papers. And from these considerations he says, k he thought himself obliged to it, both in *faithfulness* to God, and in *charity* to men.

BUT all this could not save him from being turned out of the *Temple*. See his *apology*, printed in the year 1646. of which Mr. *John Bachiler* says: k 'Having perused this mild *apology*, I conceive that the 'ingenuity, learning, and piety, therein 'contained, deserve the press.'

AFTER this, the people of *Bewdly* in *Worcestershire*, the town of his nativity, chose him for their minister. And now he began

He is chosen minister of Bewdly.

x *Apology*, p. 15.

gan to preach and diſpute publickly againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and to put his opinion into practice, being baptized by *immerſion*, on a perſonal profeſſion of faith. And ſeeing no proſpect of any reformation in the eſtabliſhed church in this *point*, he there gathered a *ſeparate* church of thoſe of his own *perſuaſion*, continuing at the ſame time miniſter of the pariſh[y].

And gathers a church of Baptiſts there.

HIS ſociety of *Baptiſts* was not very large, but conſiſted of ſuch who were of good eſteem for their piety and ſolid judgment; and three eminent miniſters of that perſuaſion were trained up in it, *viz.* Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Eccles*, and one Capt. *Boylſton*; and it continued till about the time of the king's reſtoration.

BESIDES his living at *Bewdly*, which was made ſmall by the ſtate's ſelling the lands belonging to the dean and chapter of *Worceſter*, from whence great part of his income aroſe, he had the parſonage of *Roſſe* given him. There was a vicar endowed there; but the rectory and parſonage-houſe being leaſed out, they beſtowed the rent upon him, expecting him only to preach there now and then as he could.

The maſterſhip of the hoſpital at Ledbury *given to him.*

SOMETIME after, the maſterſhip of the hoſpital in *Ledbury* was beſtowed upon him, upon which he gave up his intereſt at *Roſſe*; and when the affections of the

[y] Fiſher. Baby. *Bap.* p. 417.

people

people at *Bewdley* were alienated from him, because of his different opinion concerning *baptism*, he was restored to his first living at *Lemster*. This variety of places occasioned some of his opponents, through mistake, to accuse him of holding *pluralities*, a thing that he abhorred, and from which he publickly cleared himself[z]. The two latter, which are both in *Herefordshire*, he held indeed till the restoration; but then the mastership of the hospital did not oblige him to the cure of souls.

Is restored to his living at Lemster.

IN the year 1653. as there was some alteration made in the form of the *civil* government, so there was likewise in the *ecclesiastical*. A certain number of men were authorized to examine and approve all such as should be allowed the publick exercise of the ministry, and were therefore called *Tryers*. Mr. *Toombes* being known to be a person as well qualified for such a post, as most men then in *England*, was, notwithstanding his different opinion, appointed to be one of them. And among other good effects that followed hereupon, this was one, *viz.* the commissioners agreed to own the *Baptists* as their *brethren*, and that if any such applied to them for probation, and appeared in other respects to be duly qualified, they should not be rejected for holding this *opinion*[a]. And hence

Is made one of the Tryers.

[z] *Præcursor*, p. 26.
[a] Woodward's *corruption corrected*, p. 4.

it came to pass, that at the *restoration* several parishes were found to have *Baptist* ministers fixed in them.

THE reputation that Mr. *Tombes* had of being a great scholar, and a perfect master in controversy, occasioned his being frequently drawn into publick disputations, and of writing upon most controversies that prevailed in his time; but his chief subject was about *infant-baptism*, against which practice he has writ more books than any one man in *England*.

Has several publick disputes with the Pædobaptists.

HE also held several publick disputes against it: One with Mr. *Baxter* at *Bewdly*; another with Mr. *Tirer* and Mr. *Smith* at *Rosse*; a third with Mr. *Cragg* and Mr. *Vaughn* at *Abergavenny*; and a fourth at *Hereford*. And many who were far enough from approving his opinion, acknowledged he had the advantage of his opponents, both as to learning and argument [b].

UPON the restoration of King *Charles* II. he readily fell in with *monarchical* government, and writ a treatise the same year to justify and encourage the taking the *oath* of *supremacy*. But a little after, when he found the spirit of *persecution* again revived, and the former government and ceremonies of the church imposed; he not only quitted his places, but laid down the *ministry* also, and having not long before

He quits his places, and laid down his ministry.

[b] Nelson's *life of bishop* Bull, p. 251.

married

married a rich widow at *Salisbury*, by whom he enjoyed a good estate, he was resolved to live at rest and peace in his old age.

HE conformed to the church afterwards, its true, as a *lay communicant*, and writ a *treatise* to prove the lawfulness of so doing; nevertheless he continued in his judgment as much a *Baptist* as ever, and publickly defended that *opinion* afterward. Nor could he be prevailed upon to accept any benefice or dignity in the church, though it was offered to him, and by such as were able to have preferred him very high, for he was well beloved by several great men both in church and state.

THE earl of *Clarendon* took an opportunity soon after the restoration to speak to his majesty in his favour, and gave a great character of him from his own knowledge: by which means he was protected from having any trouble given him for any thing he had written or acted during the *rebellion*. And when he published his book of *oaths*, which was dedicated to the king, the same noble peer being then Lord Chancellor, introduced him to present it into his majesty's own hand.

Was very much esteemed.

THE learned and judicious bishop *Sanderson* had a great esteem for him; as had also one of his successors, bishop *Barlow*; and living chiefly at *Salisbury* the latter part of his life, he was observed to make

[c] *Saints no Smiters.*

frequent visits to Dr. *Ward*, bishop of that place, who respected him very much for his great learning. And at this town it was that he died, *May* 25. 1676. being seventy three years of age.

Some Pædobaptists *testimonies of his character.*

THE character that is given of this great man, by those who have zealously opposed his particular *opinion*, and so cannot be suspected of any partiality, is sufficient to convince the world that he was a person of extraordinary abilities.

MR. *Baxter*, who was personally engaged to dispute and write against him, calls him the chief of the *Anabaptists*; and says, he was the greatest and most learned writer against *infant-baptism*[c]. And though in the warmth of disputation, he published some unhandsome things against him, when he grew cooler, he professed himself heartily sorry, and publickly asked pardon both of God and Mr. *Tombes*[d].

MR. *Wood*, the *Oxford* biographer, says[e], 'That there were few better disputants in 'his age than he was.' Mr. *Nelson*, that zealous churchman, says[f], 'It cannot be 'denied, but that he was esteemed a person of incomparable parts.' And a little further: 'Tombes was the head of the 'Anabaptists, and Baxter of the Presbyterians. The victory, as it is usual, was

[c] *Life*, *Append.* p. 72. 80.
[d] *Confirmation*, p. 256.
[e] *Life*, *Append.* p. 58. *Ath. Oxon.*
[f] *Life of bishop* Bull, p. 249, 251.

'claimed

'claimed by both ſides, but ſome of the 'learned who were affected to neither of 'them, yielded the advantage both of learn-'ing and argument to the former, while 'yet they were as far from approving his 'cauſe, as even Mr. *Baxter* himſelf could be.'

DR. *Calamy*, in the life of Mr. *Baxter*, ſpeaking of Mr. *Tombes*, ſays, 'whom all 'the world muſt own to have been a very 'conſiderable man, and an excellent ſcho-'lar, how diſinclined ſoever they may be 'to his particular opinions g.'

MR. *Wall*, in his elaborate *hiſtory* of *infant-baptiſm*, ſays h, 'Of the profeſſed *Anti-'pædobaptiſts*, Mr. *Tombes* was a man of 'the beſt parts in our nation, and per-'haps in any. But that which will per-'petuate his memory yet more than all this, 'is, that character of him which the Houſe of Lords have been pleaſed to publiſh. For in their conference with the Commons upon the bill to prevent *occaſional conformity* in 1702. to prove that receiving the ſacrament in the church does not neceſſarily import an entire *conformity*, they fix upon him as an inſtance, and thus expreſs themſelves i: 'There was a very learned and famous man, 'that lived at *Saliſbury*, Mr. *Tombes*, 'who was a very zealous *conformiſt* in all 'points but in one, *infant-baptiſm*.'

g *Life of* Baxter, p. 345.
h Vol. II. c. 2. § 15. p. 29.
i *Account of the proceedings*, p. 21.

AND now, to finish our account of him; That he justly deserved all these great encomiums, will appear to any unprejudiced person, that shall consult the learned and ingenious books which he has written. And though they are many, and some of them now very difficult to be met with; yet, I think, the following is a compleat *catalogue* of them, and set down in the order in which they were published:

His works. 1. *Christ's Commination against scandalizers; a treatise wherein the necessity, nature, sorts and evils of scandalizing are cleared and fully handled.* 8vo 1641

2. Fermentum Pharisæorum; *or, The Leaven of Pharisaical Will-Worship, declared in a sermon on* Mat. xv. 9. published by order of parliament. 4to 1643

3. Jehovah Jireh; *or, God's Providence in delivering the godly*; in two thanksgiving sermons published by order of parliament. 4to 1643

4. Anthropolatria; *or, The Sin of glorying in Men, especially in eminent Ministers of the Gospel.* 4to 1645

5. *An Exercitation about Infant-Baptism; presented to a chairman of a committee of the assembly of divines.* 4to 1646

6. *An Examen of the sermon of Mr.* Stephen Marshal *about infant-baptism.* 4to 1646

7. *An Apology or Plea for the aforegoing treatises concerning Infant-Baptism.* 4to 1646

8. *An*

8. *An Antidote against the Venom of a Passage in the Epistle Dedicatory of Mr.* Baxter's *book*, entitled, *The Saints Everlasting Rest*; which contains a satyrical invective against *Anabaptists*. 4to 1650

9. *An Addition to the Apology, for the two treatises concerning Infant-Baptism*; in answer to Mr. *Robert Baillie*. 4to 1652

10. *Præcursor*; *or*, *A Forerunner to a large Review of the Dispute concerning Infant-Baptism*. 4to 1652

11. *Antipædobaptism*; *or*, *No plain nor obscure Scripture-Proof of Infant-Baptism*; being the first part of the full Review. 4to 1652

12. *Refutatio Positionis, ejusque Confirmationis, Pædobaptismum esse licitum, affirmantis, ab Henrico Savage, SS. T. D.* 4to 1653

13. *A Plea for Antipædobaptists*; in answer to a book, entitled, *The Anabaptists anatomised and silenced, in a publick dispute at Abergavenny*. 4to 1654

14. *Antipædobaptism*; or, the second part of the full Review of the dispute concerning infant-baptism.

15. *Antipædobaptism*; or, the third part of the full Review. 4to 1657

16. *Animadversiones quædam in Aphorismos* Richardi Baxter, *de Justificatione*. 1658

17. *A short Catechism about Baptism*. 4to 1658

18. *Felo de se*; or, *Mr. Baxter's Self-Destroying*, manifested in twenty arguments against infant-baptism out of his own writings. 4to 1659

19. *True Old-Light exalted above pretended New-Light*; a treatise of Jesus Christ, as he is *the Light that enlightens every one that comes into the World*, against the *Quakers* and *Arminians*; and recommended by Mr. *Baxter*. 4to 1660

20. *Romanism discussed*; an answer to the nine first articles of *H. T.'s* Manuel of Controversies, recommended by *R. Baxter*. 4to 1660

21. *A serious Consideration of the oath of the King's Supremacy*. 4to 1660

22. *A Supplement to the serious Consideration*, &c. 4to 1660

23. *Sephersheba*, or, *The Oath-Book*; a treatise concerning swearing, containing twenty catechetical lectures on the third commandment. 4to 1662

24. *Saints no Smiters*; a treatise against the fifth monarchy men. 4to 1664

25. *Theodulia*; or, A Just Defence of hearing the Sermons, and other Teachings of the present Ministers of *England*. 8vo 1667

26. *Emanuel, or God-man*; wherein the doctrine of the first *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* councils is asserted against the *Socinians*. 8vo 1669

27. *A*

27. *A Juſt Reply to the books of Mr. Wills, and Mr. Blinman, for Infant Baptiſm*; in a Letter to *Henry Danvers*, Eſq; 8vo 1675

28. *Animadverſiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit, Harmonia Apoſtolica.* 8vo 1676

ANOTHER *champion* in the cauſe of the *Baptiſts*, contemporary with the former, was Mr. *Henry Denne*, who ſignalized himſelf by his preaching and writing, diſputing and ſuffering for this opinion. *Mr.* Henry Denne.

HE was from his childhood deſigned for the miniſtry; and to qualify him the better for that great employment, was educated at the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and when he came from thence, received orders from the biſhop of St. *David's*, about the year of our Lord 1630.

THE firſt living he obtained was that of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordſhire*, which cure he held for about ten years; and being a more frequent and lively preacher than the generality of the *clergy* of thoſe times, was greatly beloved and reſpected by his pariſhioners.

IN 1641. there was a viſitation held at *Baldock* in this county; and Mr. *Denne* was the perſon fixed upon to preach the ſermon to the *clergy* and *gentry* that aſſembled on this occaſion. This proved a great means of making him ſo publick *Preaches the viſitation ſermon at* Baldock.

and

and famous as he became afterwards. For he entertained them with an uncommon diſcourſe, and ſuch a one, as procured him both a great many *friends* and *enemies*.

HE had always been ſuſpected as a perſon puritanically inclined; and the difference that was now between the king and parliament gave ſuch perſons an opportunity of declaring their minds more freely, and puſhing on for ſuch a reformation of religion as before they deſired and wiſhed for. Mr. *Denne* took this to be ſuch an opportunity for him, and reſolved now to expoſe the ſin of *perſecution*, the vices of the clergy, and the corruptions in doctrine and worſhip, which he apprehended to be in the eſtabliſhed church.

HIS introduction to his text on this occaſion was ſo ſingular in its kind, and will give the reader ſuch a taſte of the ingenuity and ſpirit of the man, that I conclude it will not be an offenſive digreſſion, to give the whole of it in his own words.

AFTER he had concluded his prayer, he thus addreſſed himſelf to his learned and numerous *auditory*.

The introduction to it.

'*Holy brethren* and *fathers*, I am at this preſent time ſurprized with three paſſions; with joy, with fear, and with grief. My ſorrow ſympathizeth with yours. I am ſorry, in the firſt place, that you have not a wiſer man to ſpeak unto you this day, eſpecially ſo many ſitting by; and for

this

'this I presume you are as sorrowful as I. I am right sorry, in the second place, that I shall this day trouble you with so large a discourse, as neither the quantity nor quality of the day will well permit. As a remedy for this, let me intreat your christian patience to tire me. This is my grief. My fear is, besides that ordinary fear which doth usually follow me at such exercises, especially at extraordinary times, and in unaccustomed places, I have yet another fear, that I shall this day be mistaken; not that I fear the mistaking of my words, for that were to call your judgments into question; but I fear lest you should mistake the intentions of my heart, and that I shall be thought to aim at some particular persons. To clear this, I call the Searcher of all hearts to record, before whom I protest this day, that I aim not at any man's person; but I desire to be free from envy and malice, and to be in perfect charity with all men. And I do here again protest, that what I shall speak this day, is against the errors and vices, not against the persons of men. This is my fear. My joy is founded upon your fervent charity, joined with your sound judgment. In respect of your charity, I count it a part of my happiness, seeing it is as it is, to speak before you, who will be ready to cover my infirmities,

'and

'and to pardon my failings, and gently to 'admoniſh me, if any thing be amiſs. In 'reſpect of your judgment, I do count it 'a further happineſs, that I have this 'day an opportunity to make confeſſion 'of my faith, and to communicate my 'doctrine unto ſo learned, judicious, and 'indifferent *auditors*, which that I may 'do, I betake myſelf with ſpeed to a por-'tion of ſcripture, ſelected for this pre-'ſent occaſion, written *John* v. 35. *He 'was a burning and a ſhining light, and 'ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoice in 'his light.*'

WHOEVER will be at the pains to read the ſermon itſelf, will find the ſame briſkneſs of ſtile, and chain of thought, running through the whole; and that there was great occaſion for ſome ſuch apology as this, to a diſcourſe, wherein the chief evils of the time are ſo freely cenſured, and the vices of the *clergy* ſo plainly laid open; particularly, their *pride*, their *covetouſneſs*, their *pluralities*, and *non-reſidence*, which about this time were riſen to a great height. And his applications are ſometimes very particular and biting. Of which let me give this one inſtance. The court for receiving preſentments againſt ſuch as break the *eccleſiaſtical laws*, being held at theſe viſitations, after he had enumerated ſome of the moſt flagrant crimes of the clergy, he takes the freedom to ſay,

'I muſt

'I must call upon those in *authority*, that 'they would make diligent search after 'these *foxes*. If the courts had been so 'vigilant to find out *these*, as *nonconformable ministers*, surely by this time 'the church would have been as free 'from *them*, as the land from *wolves*. 'But they have preferred the traditions of 'men before the commandments of Almighty God. I tell you, that *conformity* hath ever sped the worse for their 'sakes, who breaking the commandments 'of God, think to make amends with '*conformity* to the traditions of men.'

THE clergy had much ado to sit the hearing of these things, and a great noise was afterwards made about it, and many false *reports* given out both against him and his sermon; so that he was obliged to print it in his own defence. And from this time he began to be taken notice of, not only as a man of extraordinary parts, but also a proper person to help forward the designed *reformation*. Mr. *Disborough*, a man that had a great hand at that time in publick affairs, saith of him; 'He is 'the ablest man in the kingdom, for 'prayer, expounding, and preaching.'

MR. *Edwards*, who is never to be suspected of partiality to any that were called *Sectarians*, acknowledges [k], That he had

[k] Gangræna, *part* i. *page* 23.

a very

a very affectionate way of preaching, and took much with the people.

THE revolutions which happened about this time in the ſtate, neceſſarily brought on ſome alterations in religion; and the government having declared their deſign to reform religion in theſe kingdoms according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; this put Mr. *Denne*, as well as many other learned men, upon making a diligent and impartial ſearch after truth, and bringing ſome points of religion into ſtrict examination, which before they had only taken for granted, and received from the influence of cuſtom. Among the reſt, he found that the practice of *baptizing children* was without any foundation from *ſcripture*, or the writings of the chriſtians for the two firſt *ages* after Chriſt. And accordingly, about the year 1643. he publickly profeſs'd himſelf to be a *Baptiſt*, and was baptized by *immerſion* at *London*, and joined himſelf to the congregation of that perſuaſion there, of which Mr. *Lamb* was the paſtor. This of courſe expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe who now ſat at the *helm* of *eccleſiaſtical affairs*. And the next news we hear of him is, that he was taken up in *Cambridgeſhire*, and committed to *priſon* by the *committee* of that county, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and preſuming to *rebaptize* ſome in thoſe

He profeſſes himſelf to be a Baptiſt.

Is thereupon impriſoned.

those parts. Mr. *Denne* appealed to the parliament; upon which he was, by an order from the house, brought up to *London*, and, till his case could be heard, was kept *prisoner* in the lord *Peter's* house in *Bishopsgate-street*.

IT happened, that there was in this *prison*, at the same time, the great Dr. *Featly*, famous for his opposing the *Anabaptists*, and who had but just before published his book, called *the Dippers Dipt, or, the Anabaptists duck'd, and plunged over head and ears*, at a *disputation* in *Southwark*.

THIS book, assoon as Mr. *Denne* came into the *prison*, was laid before him in his apartment.

HAVING read it, he looked upon himself obliged to defend the principle and practice for which he now suffered; and therefore sent to the *doctor*, offering to dispute with him upon the arguments he had laid down in his book. The doctor at first accepts the *challenge*; but when they had only discoursed on the first of his ten *arguments*, he found he had now another kind of *opponent* to deal with, than those he triumph'd over at *Southwark*[1]; and therefore declined going any further, on pretence it was not safe so to do without *licence* from the *government*.

Challenges Dr. Featly to dispute.

[1] Denn's *Antichrist unmask'd, pref.*

but

but however, bid him write, and said he would defend his own *arguments*.

UPON this Mr. *Denne* set himself to writing, and drew up a very learned and ingenious answer, dating his book from this prison, as the doctor had done his, and tho' the doctor's was published before he came thither, so quick was he with his answer, that there is but a little above a month's difference in the date of them. But I do not find that ever the doctor, according to his promise, made any reply to it.

Jan. 10. 1644.
Feb. 22. 1644.

He obtains the parish of Elsly.

AFTER Mr. *Denne* was set at liberty, notwithstanding his opposing the common opinion in this particular, he obtained by some means or other the parish of *Elsly* in *Cambridgeshire*[m], where he preached publickly in the church, and enjoyed the means belonging to it for some time, and was very much followed for his popular preaching.

BUT this gave great offence to some of the *Presbyterian* party, who now began to think none ought to be admitted into publick *livings* but *themselves*. And more especially the neighbouring *ministers* were greatly prejudiced against him. Being once to preach on a lecture day at *St. Ives*, an order was obtained from the committee of the county against it; whereupon he went

[m] Gangræna, *part* 1. *page* 23.

into a churchyard a little diſtance, and preached under a tree, and to the mortification of his oppoſers, a great number of the people followed him thither. He was alſo in the year 1646. taken up by two juſtices of the peace at *Spalding* in *Lincolnſhire*, and committed to priſon, for having *baptized* ſome perſons in a river there, as has been before obſerved. By ſuch proceedings as theſe, Mr. *Denne* was obliged to quit his living; and finding ſuch laws enacted, as would hinder his being uſeful, or enjoying any benefice in the church, he went into the *army*; and being a man of great courage and zeal for the liberties of his country, took upon him the profeſſion of the *ſoldier* as well as the *divine*, and behaved himſelf ſo well, as to gain a reputation, not inferior to many, in both theſe characters.

Quits his living, and went into the army.

As to his opinion in other points, he ſeems to have taken that which is called the middle way; being properly neither *Calviniſt* nor *Arminian*. For tho' he held the doctrine of *perſonal election*, and the ſpecial efficacy of grace to ſome, yet he as zealouſly oppoſed the doctrine of *abſolute reprobation*, aſſerting, that by the death of Chriſt, all men were put into the poſſibility of ſalvation, and were to have the offers of it: ſo that the deſtruction [n] and ruin

[n] *Drag-net*, p. 166.

of thoſe that periſh, is only of *themſelves.*

THE ſame ſcheme was vindicated by biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Davenant*, and of late by the famous Dr. *Tillotſon.* But for this Mr. *Denne* was accuſed by ſome who wrote againſt him, of being a great *Antinomian*, and a *deſperate Arminian* o.

ONE of the moſt remarkable paſſages of this man's life, that wherein he moſt ſerved the *Baptiſts*, and gave the greateſt proofs of his being a good *ſcholar*, and a compleat *diſputant*, was that publick diſpute which he held for two days with Dr. *Gunning* in St. *Clement's* church, without *Temple-Bar*, concerning *infant-baptiſm*, in the year 1658. which was afterwards printed. He died a little after the reſtoration, and upon his grave was put, by a *clergyman* of his acquaintance, this epitaph.

To tell his wiſdom, learning, goodneſs unto men,
I need to ſay no more, but here lies Henry Denne.

THOSE that deſire to ſee a confirmation of this character, will find it by reading his works: which are,

o Gangræna, *part* 1. *p.* 22.

His works.

1. *The doctrine and converſation of* John *the* Baptiſt; a viſitation ſermon. 8vo 1642

2. *The foundation of childrens baptiſm diſcovered and raſed*; an anſwer to Dr. *Featley* and Mr. *Marſhal*. 4to 1645

3. *The man of ſin diſcovered, whom the Lord will deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming*. 4to 1645

4. *The drag-net of the kingdom of heaven*; or, Chriſt's drawing all men. 8vo 1646

5. *The levellers deſign diſcovered*, a ſheet, 1649.

6. *A contention for truth*, in two publick diſputations at St. *Clement's* church, between Dr. *Gunning* and *Henry Denné*, concerning infant-baptiſm. 4to 1658

Mr. Henry Jeſſey.

ANOTHER famous man of this denomination, was the learned, humble, and very pious Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*, M. A.

HE was born on the 3d of *September*, 1601. at *Weſt-Routon* in the North Riding of *Yorkſhire*, his father being miniſter of that place. When he was ſeventeen years of age, he was ſent to the univerſity, and educated in St. *John's* college at *Cambridge*, where he continued about ſix years, and commenced, firſt batchelor, and then maſter of arts. But that which is moſt remarkable, is, that while he was under the teachings of men, and eagerly purſuing after human learning in this place, God himſelf was pleaſed to teach him, and enrich

his ſoul with divine learning, working effectually in him, by his Holy Spirit, the knowledge of ſin, and faith in Chriſt; ſo that he dates his converſion to God, while he was yet at the *univerſity*, and but of twenty one years of age; a very rare and uncommon inſtance! However, this put no ſtop to the progreſs of his education; for he followed his ſtudies as cloſely as ever, only he now ſteered the courſe of them more directly to qualify him for the *miniſtry* of the goſpel; having determined from this time to devote himſelf to that ſacred employment. When he removed from the univerſity, old Mr. *Brampton Gurdon*, of *Aſſington* in *Suffolk*, famous for his having three ſons parliament-men, took him to be chaplain in his family. And in this worthy family he continued nine years, where he had the opportunity of perfecting his ſtudies, and qualifying himſelf yet better for more publick ſervice.

Is firſt a chaplain to a private family.

IT was in the year 1627. that he received *epiſcopal ordination*. And tho' after this he was frequently ſolicited to accept of ſome promotion in the church, yet could not be prevail'd upon until the year 1633. and then the living of *Aughton* in *Yorkſhire* was given to him. Here he found that his predeceſſor Mr. *Alder*, had been remov'd for *nonconformity*, and he knew that his principles would not permit him to conform ſo far as the other had done, and therefore

Obtains the living of Aughton.

fore expected no long continuance in this place. And it proved according to his expectation: for the very next year he himself was remov'd for not using all those *ceremonies* enjoin'd by the *rubrick* and *canons*, and for presuming to remove a *crucifix* set up there. *Is removed from thence.*

AFTER this, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, in the same county, took him into his family; by whom he also was introduc'd to preach frequently both at *Barneston* and *Rowsby*, two parishes near adjoining in *Yorkshire*; and began every day to be more and more taken notice of for his piety, humility, and excellent preaching.

IN the year 1635. he came up to *London* with his patron, and he had not been long here, before he was earnestly solicited to take the pastoral care of a congregation of *protestant dissenters* in this city, which had been form'd ever since the year 1616. by one Mr. *Henry Jacob*. They had often heard him preach to their great satisfaction; and it was now well known, that he would accept no preferment in the establish'd church, but look'd upon the imposition of *ceremonies*, and *oaths* of *episcopal* and *canonical* obedience to be unwarrantable and sinful. His great modesty caus'd him to decline it for some time; but at length, after many prayers to God, and consultations with his brethren, he accepted of this charge in the year 1637. and in this vineyard did he continue a faithful and laborious *He comes to* London.

Accepts of an Independent *congregation.*

borious ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, unto the day of his death.

Several of his congregation embrace the opinion of the Baptiſts.

IT happen'd that every now and then ſeveral of this congregation were embracing the opinion of the *Baptiſts*, and going off from them on that occaſion. In 1638. the year after his coming among them, ſix perſons of note eſpous'd it; in 1641. a much greater number; and in 1643. it was reviv'd again, and prevail'd more than ever.

MANY of theſe were ſuch as Mr. *Jeſſey* very much reſpected for their piety and ſolid judgment, and the alteration of their opinions occaſion'd frequent debates in the congregation about it; ſo that he was by theſe things neceſſarily put upon the ſtudy of this *controverſy*: and when, upon a diligent and impartial examination of the *holy ſcriptures* and *antiquity*, he found occaſion to alter his *opinion*; yet he did not do it without great deliberation, many prayers, and divers conferences with pious and learned men of a different perſuaſion.

HIS firſt *conviction* was about the *mode of baptizing*: for he quickly diſcern'd that *ſprinkling* was a modern corruption, brought in without any juſt ground either from *ſcripture* or *antiquity*; and therefore in the year 1642. the church being aſſembled, he freely declared to them, that *immerſion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, appeared to him to be the right manner of adminiſtring *baptiſm*, this being the import

He himſelf declares for immerſion in baptiſm, and practiſes it.

import of the original word Βαπτίζω, this agreeing with those examples of *baptism* recorded in the holy scriptures, and this best representing those *spiritual mysteries* signified by it, *viz.* the *death* and *resurrection* of Christ, and our *dying* to sin, and *rising* again to newness of life. And therefore he proposed, that those who were *baptized* for the future, should receive it after this manner. And tho' he continued for two or three years after this, to *baptize children*, his manner was to *dip* them into the water.

BUT about the year 1644. the *controversy* about the *subjects* of *baptism* was again reviv'd, and several debates held in the *congregation* about it; by which not only several private christians were convinced that *infant-baptism* was an unscriptural practice, but Mr. *Jessey* himself also came over to this opinion. However, before he would absolutely determine in the point, and practise accordingly, he resolved to consult with divers learned and judicious *ministers* of those times; and therefore had a meeting with Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, Mr. *Walter Craddock*, and several others. But these giving him no satisfaction, he was in *June* 1645. baptized by Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*; and it proved no small honour and advantage to the *Baptists*, to have a man of

Is further convinced that it belongs not to infants;

And is baptized by Hanserd Knollys.

such extraordinary piety, and substantial learning among them.

BUT notwithstanding his differing from his *brethren* in this, or any other point, he maintained the same christian love and charity to all saints as before, not only as to a friendly conversation, but also in respect of *church-communion*. He had always some of the *Pædobaptist persuasion*, and blamed those that made their particular opinion about *baptism* the boundary of church communion. He published the reasons of his opinion in this case; and when he travelled thro' the *north* and *west* parts of *England* to visit the churches, he made it his principal business to excite them to love and union among themselves, notwithstanding their differing from one another in some opinions; and was also the principal person that set up, and preserved for some time, a meeting at *London* of some eminent men of each denomination, in order to maintain peace and union among those christians that differed not fundamentally; and this catholick spirit procured him the love and esteem of the good men of all *parties*.

Yet held mixed communion.

HE divided his labours in the *ministry*, according to the extensiveness of his principles. Every lord's-day in the afternoon he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preach'd at St. *George's* church

His stated labours.

church in *Southwark*, being one of the fixed *miniſters* in that pariſh; and once in the week days he preached at *Ely-Houſe*, and in the *Savoy* to the maimed ſoldiers.

BESIDES his conſtant labours, thus, in the work of the miniſtry, there was another profitable work, wherein his ſoul was engaged, and in which he took great pains for divers years; and this was no leſs than the making a new and more correct tranſlation of the Holy Bible.

He attempts a more correct tranſlation of the Bible.

HE was very induſtrious, in the firſt place, to underſtand fully thoſe languages in which it was written: the *Hebrew* and *Greek* teſtaments he conſtantly carried about him, frequently calling one *his ſword and dagger*, and the other his *ſhield and buckler*. And beſides the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, he ſtudied the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* dialects, which the unlearned *Jews* ſpoke in their captivity. But notwithſtanding his qualifications in this, and many other reſpects, he had not the vanity to think this a work fit for any ſingle man to encounter with; and therefore ſent letters to many learned men of this and other nations, deſiring their aſſiſtance and joint labours with him in this great deſign. And by his perſuaſions many perſons of great note for their learning, faithfulneſs, and piety, did engage in it; particularly Mr. *John Row*, the *Hebrew* profeſſor at *Aberdeen*, took great pains with him herein. The writer of Mr. *Jeſſey*'s life ſays,

says, that he made it the master study of his life, and would often cry out, 'Oh, 'that I might see this done before I die!'

In that book there is a specimen given of the *errors* he took notice of in the present *translation*, the rules he observed in correcting them, and the progress that was made in this work.

It appears, that it was almost compleated, and wanted little more than the appointing commissioners to examine it, and authorize its publication, which was what he always attended, and of which he had from the first some assurances given him. But the great turn that was given to publick affairs both in church and state, by the *restoration*, caused this great and noble design to prove *abortive*.

It was not however lost labour to himself, if the world should never be favoured with it; for by this thorough study of the *Scriptures*, he was made an excellent *textuary*, was well skilled in the *history* and *chronology* thereof, and became so familiar with its *language* and *phraseology*, that it was to him like his *mother-tongue*, both in preaching and conversation. This way of speaking he thought most savoury, and best becoming those that profess'd christianity; therefore, as he used it to great advantage himself, so he exhorted all christians to use themselves to the like practice. And for their assistance herein, he began

began in the year 1645. to ſet forth *a ſcripture-calendar*, as a guide to ſpeak and write in ſcripture-ſtile; and continued it yearly to 1664.

His work.

IN this, beſides the day of the month, age of the moon, progreſs of the ſun, quarter-days, and the like, common to vulgar almanacks; there was, peculiar to his deſign, the ſcripture-account of hours, days, night-watches, months and quarters; alſo the weights and meaſures therein mentioned; with a brief chronology and church hiſtory; and ſtill every year entertained the publick with ſomething new on theſe ſubjects, comprising the whole in two ſheets. Theſe are ſome of thoſe methods by which this great and good man endeavoured, according to the nature of his office, to ſerve the ſouls of men, and improve their minds in knowledge and holineſs. Something alſo in juſtice ought to be ſaid of his labours of love towards their bodies, and care to promote their temporal intereſts.

And labour of love.

HE choſe a *ſingle life*, that ſo not being incumbered with *wife* or *family*, he might be the more entirely devoted to his ſacred work, and the better enabled to do good, and communicate to the relief of others. And beſides his own *alms*, he was a conſtant ſolicitor and agent for the poor, with others whom he knew able to ſupply their wants; for this purpoſe he carried about him

him a list of the names of the most eminent objects of charity known to him, adding to each name their ages, infirmities, afflictions, charges and graces; and by this method he raised considerable sums for their relief. There were above *thirty families*, who had all their subsistance from him, and were after his death exposed to great difficulties.

NOR did he limit his charity within the narrow compass of his own congregation or opinion; but, according to the rule, *did good to all*, as well as *more especially to the houshold of faith*, so that many hundreds of poor, besides his own people, were refreshed by him. And where it was not charity *to give*, but might be so on some special occasions *to lend*, he would do it freely, without taking *interest* or *security* from the party.

His charity to the distressed Jews *at* Jerusalem.

ONE of the most famous instances of his charity, and what is perhaps without precedent, was that which he shewed to the poor and distressed *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. The love that the *Jews* had for the *holy land*, and particularly the place where the famous city of *Jerusalem* had stood, drew a great number of that religion to inhabit in those parts, though they were obliged to pay considerable sums to the *Turks* for liberty so to do. These being generally poor, and dwelling in a place where there was now no trade or merchandize, they were chiefly

chiefly ſupported by their rich and trading brethren in other countries. The *Jews* in *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Lithuania* and *Pruſſia*, were wont to ſend them fifteen millions of rixdollars yearly, for the maintenance and training up of *learned rabbi's*, and for the relief of decriped men and antient widows: but a war which happened between the *Swedes* and *Poles*, cut off this means of their ſubſiſtance; ſo that about the year 1657. they were reduced to great extremity, four hundred of their poor widows were *ſtarved to death*, others ſuffered much by hunger and nakedneſs; and their *elders* and *rabbi's* were committed to *priſon*, and uſed very cruelly by ſcourging and otherwiſe, becauſe they owed between four and five thouſand pounds for their liberty of dwelling there, and other occaſions. And they were aſſured by the *rulers* in thoſe parts, that they ſhould all be ſold for *ſlaves*, if payment was not ſpeedily made.

In this deplorable caſe, all the proſpect of relief they had left, was to ſend to ſome of their brethren at *Venice* and *Amſterdam*; but theſe could help them to little more than what would pay the intereſt of their debts. However, the *chriſtians* in *Holland* hearing their caſe, had compaſſion on them, and ſent them five hundred rixdollars; and ſome there knowing Mr. *Jeffey* to be a man of a publick ſpirit, and one that delighted in charitable actions,

tions, and alſo that he had formerly been very helpful in procuring liberty for the *Jews* to trade and inhabit in *England*, on ſuch limitations as might render it ſafe both for the government and merchants, they therefore ſend a repreſentation of this caſe to him, earneſtly deſiring him to ſet forward a collection for them in *England*.

WHEN Mr. *Jeſſey* had received full ſatisfaction concerning the truth of this relation, and that there was a ſafe way of conveying what might be collected to them, he immediately communicated the matter to his brethren the *London-miniſters*, and in a ſhort time three hundred pound was gathered and ſent to them, and a bill of receipt with thanks returned.

TO this act of hoſpitality he was influenced not only by that common compaſſion which we ought to ſhew to all human nature, but from the conſideration of their having antiently been God's *peculiar* and *beloved people*, and that there are ſeveral *predictions* of their being called in the latter days, and bringing great glory to the goſpel-church.

IN the year 1650. when the *Jews* were permitted to return and trade in *England* as formerly, Mr. *Jeſſey* wrote an excellent *treatiſe* on purpoſe to remove their prejudices, and convince them that Jeſus was the true Meſſiah, which was recommended very highly by the hands of ſeveral of the

aſſembly

aſſembly of *divines*, and afterwards turned into *Hebrew*, to be diſperſed among the *Jews* of all nations.

AND to promote the ſame good deſign of their converſion to chriſtianity, there were letters ſent with this charity; *one* ſigned by all the *miniſters* that had been concerned in raiſing this money for them, *others* written particularly by Mr. *Jeſſey*, the copies of both which may be ſeen in his life.

IT is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that a man of ſuch great piety, learning, and extenſive charity, muſt be very much crouded with viſitors; and tho' Mr. *Jeſſey* was no courtier, yet, according to the modern phraſe, he had a very great *levee*; ſome to converſe with him as a *friend*, ſome to conſult him as a *caſuiſt*, and others to get relief from him as a common *benefactor* to the diſtreſſed.

HE was however reſolved to have to himſelf ſufficient time for his private devotions and neceſſary ſtudies. And as he hated idle talk and fruitleſs viſits, ſo he took all poſſible methods to avoid them. Among the reſt, that his friends might know his deſire and reſolution in this caſe, he put over his ſtudy door, the place where he uſually received his viſitors, this writing P.

P Jeſſey's *life*, p. 193.

Amice,

Amice, quisquis huc ades;
Aut agito paucis; aut abi,
Aut me laborantem adjuva.

Whatever friend comes hither,
Dispatch in brief, or go,
Or help me busied too.

By HENRY JESSEY.

DURING the time that *episcopacy* was laid aside in *England*, Mr. *Jessey* was a man always had in esteem, and free from all degrees of *persecution*; a favour that very few *Baptists* enjoyed besides himself. But in the little time he lived both before and after this, he had his share of those *persecutions*, which fell upon the *Nonconformists*.

He was ejected from his living, and died in prison.

UPON the *restoration* he was ejected from his living at St. *George's*, *Southwark*, silenced from his *ministry*, and being committed to *prison* for his religion, he died there, full of peace and joy, on the 4th of *Sept.* 1663. having that day compleated the sixty third year of his age. He was buried three days afterwards from *Woodmongers* hall; and there appeared an uncommon number of mourners at his funeral, several thousands of pious persons of all denominations attending his obsequies, each bewailing their loss in that particular wherein he had been useful to them, and one of his learned acquaintance writ this epitaph on his death.

In

In mortem domini HENRICI JESSEY.

Post varios casus, & per dispendia vitæ,
Plurima, devictis hostibus, ille jacet.
Sub tumulo, invictus victor, sub face, triumphans,
Præmia virtutis possidet ille suæ.
Cymba fides, remique preces, suspiria, venti
Cum quibus Elysias per Styga fertur agris.

THOSE that desire to know more of this great and good man, may read his life, published in 1671. But perhaps one testimony of his great learning and piety from a *Pædobaptist*, may go further with some men, than all that can be said by those of his own persuasion.

I WILL therefore add the *character* that is given of him by *Obadiah Wills*, M. A. who has writ with as much zeal and warmth against Mr. *Jessey*'s particular opinion, as any man; yet when he is commending love and union among Christians of different sentiments, he says[1]: *Mr. Wills' character of him.*

'AND such a frame of spirit was there 'in that man of God, Mr. *Jessey*. — He, to 'my knowledge, was an *Anti-pædobaptist* 'of long standing, as holy I conceive, as 'any of that judgment; of good learning

[1] Jessey's *life*, p. 97. [1] *Inf. Bapt. præfat.*

ry flood of a very tender conscience, and of healing and uniting a spirit that he esteemed it his duty, and prefled others to it, to keep up christian communion with those that feared God, tho' they differ'd about *baptism*. We have his arguments for the same published in print, and grounded on *Romans* xiv. 1. which are so clear, and have in them such strength of evidence, that I never yet could hear them answered, nor do ever expect it. I wish there were more such *Anti-pedobaptists* as he.

THE books written by him are as follows.

His works. 1. *A stone-house of provision for further resolution in several cases of conscience, and questions moved in this point.* 1650

2. *A scripture calendary* published yearly, from 1645, to 1660.

3. *The glory and salvation of Judah and Israel*, a treatise to reconcile Jew and Christians in the faith of the Messiah. 1650

4. *An infant-baptism from heaven*, in which the answers are wholly in the words of scripture.

5. *The exceeding riches of grace, advanced by the Spirit of grace.* 1658

6. *The Lord's call to England*, being an account of some late various and wonderful judgments. 1660

Misc. Miscellanea Sacra, or divers necessary truths. 8vo 1665

Looking-glass for children, being a narrative of God's gracious dealings with some little children. 8vo 1672

William Dell, M. A. was another professed *Baptist*, famous in the time of the late civil wars. He was trained up at the university of *Cambridge*, accepted a living in the established church, and before the civil wars, seemed well enough pleased with episcopacy and the ceremonies. But when the change in the state brought on a reformation in religion, he appeared among the forwardest for the promoting of it, and would have had it carried on much further than many others designed, or would allow of. Tho' this created him many enemies, and exposed him to the censure of the prevailing party, yet he exclaimed against making a whole kingdom a church, and called it *the mystery of iniquity*. He thought, that no power belonged to the church and clergy, but what is spiritual, and took pains to shew[1], that the blending the civil and ecclesiastical powers together has constantly been the method of setting up a *spiritual tyranny*, and of supporting the anti-christian church and prelacy. He zealously opposed

Mr. Wil. Dell.

[1] Dell's *animad.* p. 49.

all compulsion in matters of religion; and held, that every particular person, and so cities of christians, ought to have the liberty of worshipping God according to the best of their knowledge, and in that manner which they thought most agreeable to his word.

Opposes the Presbyterians.

THESE principles led him necessarily to oppose the *Presbyterians* in their attempts to get the civil power over entirely to themselves, and to establish their articles of faith, and directory for worship and discipline, suppressing all others. And there was no man stood more in their way than he did, so that he obtained the name of *a rigid Anti-presbyterian*, and *a famous sectary*[u].

HE writ a book against *uniformity*, wherein he calls the imposing of it antichristian, about the same time as they were getting their directory confirmed by parliament, which greatly enraged them; but he was protected against their resentment, by the favour of some great men.

HE had the living at *Yelden*, in the county of *Bedford*, a place worth about two hundred pound a year. But some other officiated for him; for about the year 1645 he became *chaplain* to the *army*, constantly attending on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the head quarters.

Goes into the army.

[u] Love's *animad.* p. 4. Gangræna *part* 1. p. 213.

THIS post they envied him more than the other; not for the profit of it, but because it gave him an opportunity of spreading his *principles* among some of the leading men in the state, and enabled him to make the greater stand against their desired establishment of *Presbytery*. Mr. *Baxter* himself went into the *army* for some time, to counterwork Mr. *Dell* and others, whom he esteemed as *sectarians*; and endeavoured to persuade other ministers to follow his example, but met with little success, as he himself acknowledges [y].

WHEN his method failed [z], they endeavoured to blacken his *character*, by representing him to be an *Antinomian*, a *Socinian*, a *Sectarian*, and one that opposed reason [b], sound doctrine, order and concord [c]; but chiefly sought occasion to catch something from his discourses, that might expose him to the government, and render him odious to the common people. Several instances of this might be collected out of the *histories* of those times. I will only take notice of the two most remarkable.

His enemies endeavour to expose him.

ONE was, from a discourse which he preach'd at *Marston*, then the head quarters of the *army* before *Oxford*.

[y] *Life*, p. 53, 56.
[z] Love's *animad.* p. 8.
[a] Ibid. p. 6.
[b] Gangræna, *part* 3. p. 213.
[c] Baxter's *life*, p. 64.

Soldiers who were supposed to come from *London* to the spies upon the army to oppose them, being present, were greatly provoked, and enraged by what he delivered: whereupon they drew up their charge against him, and in several heads, signed it with their names, and returning to *London*, copies of it were put into the hands of several members of both houses of parliament, and divers eminent citizens of *London*, in order to carry on their design against him.

IT shews the spirit of those times, and the unhappy struggles that were among the contending parties; and being short, I shall here insert it.

MR. *Dell* expounding the seven last verses of the 34th of *Isaiah*, in *Marston* church near *Oxford* before the general and other commanders and soldiers, *June* the 7th 1646. being sabbath day in the forenoon, used these or the like words, in effect.

Their charge against him.

1. THERE are no more of the church of God in a kingdom than there be of such as have the spirit of God in that kingdom.

NEITHER Old nor New Testament do hold a whole nation to be a church;

[g] Edwards's Gangræna, *part* 3. *p.* 63.

3. WHAT-

3. Whatsoever state, assembly, or council shall say, ought not to bind the saints, further than the judgments of those saints shall lead them.

4. The saints are those that are now stiled *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, *Independants*, *Sectaries*, &c.

5. The power is in you the people to keep it, part not with it.

6. The first party that rose against you, namely, the profane ones of the land, are already fallen under you, and now there is another party, *Formalists* and *Carnal-Gospellers* rising up against you; and I am confident they shall fall under you.

7. They are willing to become subjects to make the saints slaves; nay, they are willing to become slaves themselves, that they may tread upon the necks of the saints.

8. His sermon, or exposition, for the greatest part of it, tended meerly to division and sedition.

9. Being spoken with after his sermon, by some of his hearers, touching these things, and such like passages, he said to this effect; his intentions were not according to his expressions, and he thought he had preached only to soldiers.

Peter Mills, *Nicholas Widmergole*,
Henry Potter, *Theophilus Smith*,
John Haine,

This proceeding obliged Mr. *Dell* to print his sermon in his own vindication. He declares in the preface, that it contained the whole of what was then delivered, faithfully set down, and nothing abated; and appeals to several hundreds of persons, some of which were of great worth and piety, who were ready to confute the falsehood and untruths of their charge.

He does indeed therein shew his dislike of making every parish in a kingdom a member of the church, and taking those into Christ's flock that are none of his sheep; and endeavours to expose the evil of *persecution*, and the folly of building our faith on the opinions of any learned man, or an whole *assembly of divines*; and exclaims against the practice of abusing good men with the odious names of *Sectaries*, *Schismatics*, *Heretics*, &c. but says nothing that will bear so ill a sense as those words they accuse him with. And as to the two last articles of their charge, which contains their opinion of his discourse, and what passed afterwards, he so fully confuted both, that in their rejoinder they drop them.

THERE was another instance of this nature, which exposed Mr. *Dell* very much to the envy of those who endeavoured to establish an *uniformity*, and again, *toleration*.

Nov.

Nov. 25, 1646. being appointed for a publick fast, Mr. *Dell* and Mr. *Love* were chosen to preach before the house of commons.

Preaches before the house of Commons.

It was a very critical juncture with respect to the state of religion. The ministers of *London*, and after their example, those of other parts, had petitioned against *toleration*, desiring that all *sectaries* and *lay preachers* might be suppressed, and *presbytery* only established and allowed of; and the city of *London* had but just before presented their *remonstrance* to the same effect: so that this great affair lay now before the parliament, and was the chief subject of debate throughout the kingdom.

Mr. *Dell* was known to be one of the heads of the opposite party; and having this opportunity, he thought himself obliged to vindicate his opinion, and defend the rights and liberties of his brethren. Accordingly preaching in the morning, from *Heb.* ix. 10. *Until the time of reformation*, he took the liberty of handling this point very freely before the parliament; shewing, what true gospel reformation is, into whose hand the work is committed, and by what means it is to be brought about: and under this last head does, by several excellent arguments, expose the unreasonableness and evil of *persecution*,

sedition, or using external force and compulsion in matters purely religious.

WHEN Mr. *Love* came to preach in the afternoon, instead of delivering the sermon he had prepared, he set himself with great warmth, and many unhandsome reflections, to confute what had been delivered in the morning; endeavouring to justify the punishing of *Heretics* and *Schismaticks*, and to vindicate the authority of the civil *magistrate*, in imposing articles of faith, and a form of worship. The fame of this contest quickly spread itself thro' the nation, and warmed the spirit of both the parties. The *parliament* thought it most prudent for them not to give their publick approbation to either discourse, and it would have been ridiculous to have done it to both; therefore they dropt the usual ceremony in that case.

MR. *Dell* printed his sermon, and having a copy of Mr. *Love's*, put at the end of his own a reply to Mr. *Love's* contradictions, upon both which, Mr. *Love* quickly after wrote some *animadversions*. And thus they were made the *heads* and *champions* of the two contending parties of the nation; the *one for liberty*, the *other for persecution*.

MR. *Dell's* discourse met with great approbation from the publick, and caused his doctrine very much to obtain. And

Baxter's life, p. 64.

tho' the *rigid Presbyterians* were very much provok'd and offended with him, though vehement they shew'd no resentment, nor did he lose any present or following preferment by what he had done.[a]

In the year 1649, when several were turned out of the universities for refusing to take the oaths to the government, he was made master of *Caius* college at *Cambridge*; and this, with his living at *Yeldon*, he held, till he was ejected by the act of *uniformity*, made quickly after the restauration.

Dr. *Calamy*, in his account of the ejected ministers, calls him *a very unsettled man*; and says, he was challenged with three contradictions in his life. 1. For being professedly against *Paedobaptism*, and yet he had his own *children* baptized; 2. For preaching against *universities*, when yet he held the *headship* of a college; 3. For being against *tithes*, and yet taking 200 *l. per annum* at his living at *Yeldon*.

Dr. Calamy's charge against him.

Dr. *Calamy* takes no notice of this in his first edition; but however it is now fixed upon as a brand of infamy on the character of this learned defender of the peoples religious liberties. And as these things are laid down, they do indeed shew a *contradiction* between *principles* and *practice*; and the doctor's *impartiality* and *ingenuity*

Confuted.

[a] *Excuse the more rigid to distinguish them from the other Presbyterians who dislike such proceedings.*

[b] Baxter's *life*, p. 64.

genuity towards the *Baptists* may be eaſily ſeen, where he is neceſſitated to mention them. But if ſome circumſtances are conſidered, the *contradictions* will in a great meaſure diſappear, and the crime of them be wholly taken away.

HE that believes *infant-baptiſm* to be no inſtitution of Chriſt, yet for the ſatisfaction of a *pious wife*, or ſome other near relations who eſteem it ſo, may permit them to get his *children* baptized; or if he don't eſteem it a religious rite, may admit it as a title to ſome *civil privilege*; as *Paul* circumciſed *Timothy*.

As to the ſecond, I do not find that he was againſt *univerſities* as *ſeminaries* of *learning*, and proper places for the education of youth; but making ſuch an education *eſſential* to a goſpel miniſter, and preferable to the gifts of the Spirit.

Nor, 3dly, can I ſee any evil or *contradiction* in it, for a perſon who aſſerts that there is no divine right for *tithes* under the goſpel, but that miniſters ſhould be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, to accept of a living raiſed by *tithes*, till ſuch a reformation can be obtained, and other methods fixed for their ſupport. It rather beſpeaks a man's virtue to oppoſe a practice and deſire the reformation of it, tho' it was ſo beneficial to himſelf. And had he not made conſcience of practiſing nothing in religion but what was conſiſtent with

the ſentiments of his own mind, he would never have loſt two ſuch great *livings* for his *nonconformity* as he did; and yet the doctor himſelf aſſerts, that this was the only reaſon of his ejectment. It muſt be granted, that he was ſomewhat tinctured with the *enthuſiaſm* that prevailed in thoſe times; but was however a man of ſubſtantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights and liberties of conſcience.

The tracts which he publiſhed were,

1. *Power from on high; or the power of the Holy Ghoſt diſperſed thro' the whole body of Chriſt, and communicated to each member.* Two Serm. 4to 1645 *His works.*

2. *Right reformation.* A ſermon before the houſe of Commons, *Nov.* 25. 4to 1646

3. *The building and glory of the truly chriſtian and ſpiritual church*; repreſented in an expoſition on *Iſaiah* 45. 4to 1647.

4. *The doctrine of baptiſm, reduced from its antient and modern corruptions.* 4to 1648.

5. *A treatiſe againſt uniformity.* I am not certain but this may be the ſame with the firſt.

THE next I ſhall mention, is one whoſe memory is ſtill very precious to many godly perſons, both of this and other denominations; *viz.*

THE

Mr. Hanserd Knollys.

THE pious and learned Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*. He was born at *Chalcewell* in *Lincolnshire*, and descended from religious parents, who took care to have him trained up in good literature, and instructed betimes in the principles of religion. For this end they kept a tutor in their house for him and his brother, till he was fit for the *university*; and then he was sent to *Cambridge*, where he continued some time and became a *graduate*; tho' he is so modest, as to take no notice of it in the account he has left of his life under his own hand. His mind was tinctured with piety, before he came hither; but by some sermons which he heard here, he was effectually convinced of sin, and brought more to mind the salvation of his soul, than formerly.

His behaviour at the university.

THE manner of his behaviour, and the spending of his time here, is worthy of notice, as a rare instance and good example for all *academicks*. He prayed every day, and heard all the godly ministers he could. His chief study was the holy scriptures, tho' he read other useful books. He affected to get acquaintance with the most sober and gracious christians, tho' called *Puritans*. He frequently kept days of fasting and prayer alone, to humble his soul

for

for his sins, and to seek pardon and grace of God thro' Jesus Christ; was strict in performing the duties of religion, and examined himself every night to call to mind the sins of the day, that he might confess them, mourn for them, and seek pardon, and maintained an indignation against all actual sins, whether committed by himself or others. From such an hopeful beginning much good might be expected; and happy would it be for this nation, if our *universities* and private *academies* were filled with such *students*.

When he came from the university, he was chose *master* of the free school at *Grimsborough*, which he held but a little time.

In *June* 1620, he was ordained by the bishop of *Peterborough*, first a *deacon*, than a *presbyter* of the church of *England*. Soon after which the bishop of *Lincoln* gave him the living at *Humberstone*. When he had held this cure two or three years, he began to scruple the lawfulness of several *ceremonies* and *usages* of the *national* church; as the *surplice*, the *cross* in *baptism*, the admitting *unchristened* persons to the *Lord's supper*, &c. whereupon he resolved to resign his living to the bishop who had bestowed it upon him; for he told the bishop plainly, that he could not in *conscience* conform any longer; however said, he was willing to continue preaching

Is ordained by a bishop, and a living given him.

Resigns his living.

ing

ing; tho' he could not hold any *cure*, or read their *service*. And accordingly after this, for two or three years, he frequently preached in divers parishes, and was connived at by his *diocesan* in so doing. But about the year 1636. he left the church entirely, and join'd himself to the *Dissenters*, and was exposed to many difficulties and hardships for his *non-conformity*, both before and after the civil wars, besides the ill treatment he met with, even during that time, for his being a *Baptist*; of which an account has been already given.

WHEN the episcopal *hierarchy* was laid aside, and universal liberty granted, Mr. *Knollys* came to *London*, and for some time preached to the publick churches with great approbation. But when some other persons got into the saddle, this could not be born with, because he was against a *national church*, an *established uniformity*, and *infant-baptism*. Whereupon he set up a *meeting-house* in great *St. Helens*, and was very much crowded after, having seldom less than a thousand hearers.

And set up a meeting-house.

HE publickly owned his *opinion*, and frequently preached and disputed against *infant-baptism*, and many were convinced by him of the unwarrantableness of that practice; among whom, were some learned *ministers* as well as others; particularly the learned Mr. *Jessey* was his disciple in this point, and was baptized by him; and

Gathers a church of Baptists, *and was ordained their pastor.*

he

he ſoon gathered a ſufficient number to form a diſtinct church of this *denomination* at *London*; of which he was ordained the *paſtor* in the year 1645. And with this people he continued in the faithful diſcharge of that *office*, until the day of his death, except when he was forced from them by violent *perſecution*, or abſent upon juſt occaſions.

He was very diligent and laborious in the work of the *miniſtry*, both before and after his ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed church. While he was a *Conformiſt*, he often preached three times and ſometimes four on the Lord's-day; at *Holton* at ſeven in the morning, at *Humberſtone* at nine, at *Scartho* at eleven, and at *Humberſtone* again at three in the afternoon; beſides his preaching every *holiday*, and at every *burial*, as well of the *poor* as of the *rich*.

Nor was he leſs diligent in his work after he became a *Nonconformiſt*. For above forty years ſucceſſively he preached three or four times every week, whilſt he had health and liberty; and when he was in *priſon*, it was his uſual practice to preach every day. One thing is very remarkable, while he continued to preach in the *eſtabliſhed church*, which was about five or ſix years, he ſays [1], he was not, as he knew of, inſtrumental to the converſion of

[1] *Life*, p. 9.

one *soul* to God, which occasioned him not only to question, but reject the call and commission he had received to preach the gospel. But when he set out upon another *foundation*, and experienced more of God's teachings and assistance in the work, he quickly found to his comfort, that many *sinners* were converted, and many *believers* established by his *labours*, and that from henceforward he continued to receive many *seals* of his *ministry*.

HE was as excellent and successful in the gift of prayer as of preaching; for God was pleased to honour him with several remarkable answers to his prayers; especially during the time of the plague at *London*, divers sick persons being suddenly restored, even while he was praying with them.

ONE very remarkable instance of this kind he thought fit to leave to posterity, which is published in his life, to which I refer you, it being too long to be inserted here.

He was often compelled to change his place of abode.

THE frequent revolutions that happened within the compass of this good man's long life, occasioned a great variation in his circumstances and place of abode. Sometimes he was worth some hundreds of pounds, at other times he had neither house to dwell in, food to eat, nor one penny to buy any; and frequently was he hurried about from place to place, by the *evil* of the

the *times*, and the *envy* of his *perſecutors*.

FIRST he and his family were forced from *Lincolnſhire* to *London*, then from *London* to *New-England*, and thence back again. Another time they were obliged to remove from *England* into *Wales*, and after this twice from *London* to *Lincolnſhire*. Another circuit was from *London* to *Holland*, from thence into *Germany*, and thence to *Rotterdam*, and then to *London* again. Theſe frequent *removings*, and different *circumſtances* of life, tended very much to the exerciſe of his graces, the increaſe of his experiences, both in temporal and ſpiritual things; and furniſhed him with frequent inſtances of the great love and goodneſs of God, in the courſe of his providence.

WHEN he was with his people, he always received a contribution from them according to their ability, believing it to be his *right* and their *duty*: but the chief means of his *ſubſiſtance*, was by teaching *ſchool*. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, and had an extraordinary way of inſtructing youth; ſo that when the times would permit him to follow this employment, he never wanted ſufficient encouragement, and many eminent perſons, both for piety and learning, were trained up by him.

He was often compelled to change his place of abode.

HE lived to a good old age, and went home as a ſhock of wheat that is gathered in its ſeaſon. And though he was of ſo great an age, yet he did not lie ſick long, nor keep his bed many days. All the time of his illneſs, he behaved himſelf with extraordinary patience and reſignation to the divine will, longing to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, not ſo much to be freed from pain and trouble, as from all ſin: and according to his deſire, he departed this life in a great tranſport of joy, on the 19th day of *September* 1691. and *ætatis ſuæ* 93.

And died at London *in the 93d year of his age.*

MR. *Keach* writ an *elegy* on his death, and beſides the funeral-ſermon that was preached for him to his own congregation, Mr. *Tho. Harriſon* preached a ſermon on this occaſion at *Pinners-hall*, where Mr. *Knollys* kept up a morning-lecture every Lord's-day. This was publiſhed, and contains an excellent character of this old diſciple and eminent miniſter of the goſpel. I ſhall give it in his own words.

Mr. Harriſon's *character of him.*

'1. *His accurate and circumſpect walking.* 'I do not ſay, that he was wholly free 'from ſin; ſinleſs perfection is unattainable 'in a mortal ſtate: but yet he was one 'who carefully endeavoured to avoid it. 'He, with the apoſtle *Paul*, did herein '*exerciſe himſelf to have always a conſcience* '*void of offence, towards God and towards* '*men.* He walked with that caution, that 'his greateſt *enemies* had nothing againſt 'him,

'him ſave only in the matters of his God. 'That holy life which he lived, did com-'mand reverence even from thoſe who 'were enemies to the holy doctrine which 'he preached. He was a preacher out of 'the pulpit as well as in it: not like thoſe 'who preſs the form of godlineſs on a 'Lord's-day, and openly deny the power 'of it the remainder of the week; who 'pluck down that in their converſations, 'which they build up in their pulpits.

'2. *His univerſal love to Chriſtians.* 'He had a great reſpect to Chriſt's new 'commandment, which he gave to his 'diſciples, *to love one another.* He loved 'the image of God whereſoever he ſaw 'it. He was not a man of a narrow and 'private, but of a large and publick ſpirit: 'the difference of his fellow-chriſtians opi-'nions from his, did not alienate his af-'fections from them. He loved all his 'fellow-travellers, though they did not 'walk in the ſame particular path with 'himſelf. He embraced thoſe in the arms 'of his love upon earth, with whom he 'thought he ſhould join in ſinging the ſong 'of the Lamb in heaven. It would be 'well, if not only private chriſtians, but 'alſo miniſters, did imitate him therein: 'there would not then be that ſourneſs of 'ſpirit, which is too often, with grief be 'it ſpoken, found among them.

3. *His meekness and humility.* He was not of a proud and lofty temper, but like that master whom he professed to serve, *meek and lowly.* He was willing to bear with, and forbear others; to stoop and condescend to others, and to pass by those injuries which he received from them.

4. *His laboriousness in that work which he was engaged in.* He was not a loiterer, but a labourer: he was willing to *spend and to be spent* in the service of his Lord, and for the good of poor souls. It is true, old age and youth did as it were meet in him: God had blessed him with an extraordinary measure of bodily strength; and he was not an unfaithful steward of this talent wherewith God had entrusted him. Yea, *when his flesh and his heart seemed to fail*, when his flesh was so weak, that he could hardly bear to stand in a pulpit, and his voice so low, that he could scarcely be heard; his affections were so much engaged in his work, that he was very unwilling to leave it.

5. *His courageous and chearful suffering for his master's and the gospel's sake.* He chearfully went about suffering as well as preaching work. He was not unwilling *to take up his cross, and follow* his Lord and Master in the thorny road of tribulation. In these things, let us imitate and follow the example of this holy

man,

'man, who I question not, says Mr. *Harrison*, is gone to the assembly of the first-born, to that glorious company of prophets, who having finished their work on earth, are wearing their crowns in heaven.'

COMPARE this character, supported by the forementioned facts, with what Mr. *Neal* says of this worthy *Gentleman*, and let the world judge which has done most *justice* to his *memory*.

His works are these, viz.

His works.

1. *Christ exalted; a lost sinner sought and saved by Christ; God's people an holy people*; being the sum of divers sermons preached in *Suffolk*. 4to 1646

2. *The shining of a flaming fire in Zion*; an answer to Mr. *Saltmarsh*, his thirteen exceptions against the grounds of new baptism, in his book, entitled, *The smoke of the temple*. 4to 1646

3. *The world that now is, and that which is to come*. 8vo

4. *Grammaticæ Latinæ, Græcæ & Hebraicæ, compendium; rhetoricæ ad umbratio; item radices Græcæ & Hebraicæ, omnes quæ in Sacra Scriptura veteris & novi Testamenti occurrunt*. 8vo 1665

5. *The parable of the kingdom of heaven expounded*, being an exposition of the first three verses of the 25th chapter of *Matthew*. 8vo 1664

6. *An essay of sacred rhetoric*, used by the Holy Spirit in scripture of truth. 8vo 1675

7. *An exposition of the whole book of the revelations.* 4to 1668

8. *A small piece in defence of singing the praises of God.* 8vo

9. A preface to Mr. *Collier*'s book, entitled, *The exaltation of Christ.* 8vo 1647

10. A preface to Mr. *Keach*'s *Instructions for children.* 12mo

11. His *last legacy to the church*, written a little before his death.

12. *Some account of his life*, written with his own hand, to the year 1672

THE two last mentioned, were published after his death.

Mr. Francis Cornwell.

THE next I shall mention, though so particular an account cannot be given of him as some others, is *Francis Cornwell*, M. A.

HE was trained up at *Cambridge*, and was some time student of *Emanuel* college, and commenced *master* of *arts* in that *university*. When he left the *university*, he was prefer'd to a living in the established church, and at the beginning of the civil wars, was *minister* at *Orpington* in *Kent* [u].

Professes himself a Baptist.

I CANNOT find the certain time or means of his embracing the opinion of the *Baptists*. But in the year 1643. he publickly profess'd that *principle*, and wrote in defence it. His book was intitled,

[u] Vide *his two queries.*

The

The vindication of the royal commiſſion of King Jeſus. In this he attempts to prove by ſeveral arguments, that the practice of *chriſtning* children was a *popiſh* tradition, and an *antichriſtian* cuſtom, contrary to the commiſſion given by our bleſſed Saviour, &c. It was dedicated to the parliament, and given away at the door of the houſe of Commons to divers of the members [x], which cauſed it to make a great noiſe, and be much handed about, to the great offence of thoſe of a different *opinion*.

DR. *Featley* [y] makes ſeveral remarks upon it, and pretends to anſwer the main arguments in it. There was alſo about the ſame time another piece publiſhed in anſwer to it, called a *Declaration againſt the Anabaptiſts* [z]. But neither of theſe convinced Mr. *Cornwell*, or ſtopp'd the ſpreading of his *opinion*, which prevailed much at this time among the learned, as well as the common people [a].

THE doctor calls him [b], *a new Anabaptiſtical proſelyte*. Whence it ſhould ſeem, that he had but lately entertained this *opinion*. However, having found the *truth* himſelf, he was willing to help others to do ſo

[x] Edward's *Gangræna*, part 3. p. 98.
[y] *Dipper Dipp'd.*
[z] *Ibid.* p. 48.
[a] *Ibid. Preface.*
[b] *Ibid.* p. 45.

likewiſe

likewise, at least, to see whether this *brand then* in the *ministry* could answer his *arguments*, and resolve the *doubts* he had concerning the lawfulness of that *practice*. And according to this, we find after he has examined the *scriptures* and *antiquity* concerning this *point*, he makes this appeal in his book: 'Oh, that the learned 'English ministry would inform me, lest 'my blood, like *Abel's*, cry aloud from 'heaven for vengeance, for not satisfy-'ing a troubled conscience! How shall I 'admit the *infant* of a *believer* to be 'made a visible member of a particular 'church, and be *baptized*, before it be 'able to make confession of its *faith* and '*repentance*?'

Appeals to the English *ministry for information.*

AFTER the publishing of his book, and finding no satisfactory answer returned to his arguments, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion, notwithstanding the dangerous consequence that it might be of to himself.

In the year 1644, being to preach a sermon at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*, before divers *ministers* in those parts, he took the liberty of declaring his sentiments freely in this point; and told them, *paedobaptism* was an *antichristian innovation*, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither *precept*, *example*, or true *deduction* from the word of God. At this several of the *ministers* were not only very much startled, but

In a sermon before divers ministers, he declares his sentiments.

but greatly offended: and when they had debated the matter together afterwards, they agreed to re-examine this *point*, and to bring their collections together, at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight.

MR. *Christopher Blackwood*, who was one of them, took a great deal of pains, and studied the question closely, and began to suspect that it was indeed, as had been said, no more than an *human tradition*, and that it was attended with more evil consequences than he had ever before considered. When they met again, according to agreement, he brought in his arguments, which determined against *pædobaptism*: but there was none had brought any thing in defence thereof. One said, that they sought for truth and not victory; and therefore proposed, that they might have his papers to examine the arguments. The other approving of this motion, the papers were accordingly left with them; and after he had waited a long time, and could get no answer, he sent for them again, and after some correction and enlargement, sent them to the press.

THUS, by Mr. *Cornwell*'s means, the *controversy* was revived in that county, the truth gained ground, and he had the honour of making a very ingenious and learned proselyte to his opinion.

Mr. Blackwood becomes his proselyte.

[1] Blackwood's *storm unrich.* p. 11.

HE

HE did not continue long after this in the *national church*, though it was now much reformed to what it had been. For beſides his denial of *infant-baptiſm*, he diſliked both *national* and *parochial* churches; and taught, that the true church was to conſiſt only of ſuch as profeſſed *repentance* from dead works, and *faith* in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and were *baptized* according to his commands; this being after the pattern of the firſt churches in *Judæa*[c]. And ſuch a church or ſociety of chriſtians was quickly gathered by him in *Kent*.

HE was alſo a very zealous oppoſer of *perſecution*, and an impoſed uniformity. And when the *ordinance of parliament* was made, to ſilence all *lay-preachers*, that is, as they explained it, all that had not *epiſcopal* or *preſbyterian ordination*, or that ſhould preach any thing contrary to the articles of *faith*, and *directory* for publick worſhip, publiſhed by the *aſſembly*, he publickly oppoſed it, and wrote a ſmall *piece* to diſcover the evil and unchriſtian ſpirit of ſuch proceedings, and entitled it, *Two Queries worthy of conſideration*; becauſe the whole goes upon theſe two queſtions, which he propoſes therein to the miniſters both of church and ſtate.

Q. 1. WHETHER that miniſtry that preacheth freely the goſpel-faith, that the

[c] *Two queries*, p. 5.

Lord

Lord Jesus is the Christ, as the apostle *Peter* did, be not truly *orthodox*? Acts ii. 36.

Q. 2. WHETHER it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the sacred scriptures, to silence or inhibit any *ministers* of Jesus Christ, for preaching this gospel-faith freely?

As a loyal covenanter for a pure reformation in *England*, (these are his words) he affirms the *former*, and endeavours to maintain it by several arguments. The *latter* he denies, and intimates, that whosoever shall be guilty of any such practice, would act as the *Jews* of old did, who cast the blind man out of their synagogue, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.

THERE were, if Mr. *Edwards* may be depended upon, divers pamphlets put forth by this learned man: but all I can meet with, are the two already mentioned. He continued a faithful shepherd of that flock, which had been gathered by his ministry in *Kent*, unto the day of his death; and was succeeded in that place and office, by a son who was of his own name and principles. His writings are reckoned these which follow: His works,

1. *A Vindication of the Royal Commission of King Jesus.*

2. *Two Queries worthy of consideration*, &c.

3. *A*

3. *A Conference between Mr.* John Cotton, *and the Elders of* New-England. 8vo 1646

4. *A Description of the Spiritual Temple; or, The Difference between the Christian and Antichristian Church.* 8vo 1646

MORE of this gentleman's character may be seen in the prefaces to the two last mentioned books.

Mr. Christ. Blackwood.

IT will be very natural in the next place, to give some account of *Mr. Christopher Blackwood*, who was the disciple of the former in the point of baptism. The first thing that I can meet with concerning him is, that he was a *minister* somewhere in *Kent*, and was possessed of a *parochial* charge in that county at the beginning of the *civil wars*. From whence, as well as from his writings, it may be concluded, that he had a learned education, and was probably trained up at one of our *universities*. The time and means of his receiving this *opinion* is already related from the account which he himself gave of it. And he did not, after the change of his judgment, continue long in the *established church*; for he was as zealous against *national churches*, as against *infant-baptism*[a].

CAPTAIN *Dean*, who lived in those times, reckons him among those of his

[a] *Letter*, p. 8, 9.

acquaintance,

acquaintance, who voluntarily left their *parochial* charges and *benefices*, as not approving the *baptizing* of *infants*, and concerning whom he further says, they were *worthy guides, well qualified in all respects for the ministry*.

THE *Presbyterians* of those times wrote against him with some warmth [e], because he was an advocate for *liberty of conscience*, and opposed their attempted *establishment*, as well as their *infant-baptism* [f]. In the first book he writ, he joined these two together, *infant-baptism* and *compulsion of conscience*; and called them *the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist*.

WHEN his *principles* occasioned him to leave the *national church*, I do not find that he collected a distinct congregation of such as agreed with him in this doctrine of *baptism*, as many others did. It rather appears from the *dedications* of some of his *books*, that he went into the *army*, and that in the year 1653, he went into *Ireland* with the *army*, under the command of general *Fleetwood*, and lieutenant *Ludlow*. He lived till after the *restoration*, was then at *London*, and put his hand to the apology published by the *Baptists* in 1660. declaring against *Venner's* insurrection.

[e] Edwards's *Gangræna*, part 3. p. 98.
[f] Blake's *Infant-Bapt.*

His works.

HE has publiſhed ſeveral tracts; as,

1. *The ſtorming of Antichriſt in his two laſt and ſtrongeſt garriſons; compulſion of conſcience and infants baptiſm.* 4to 1664.

2. *Apoſtolical baptiſm; or a ſober rejoynder to a treatiſe of Mr.* Blake's, in anſwer to his former treatiſe.

3. *Four treatiſes:* The firſt ſetting forth *the excellency of Chriſt*; the ſecond, containing a *preparation for death*; the third, concerning *our love to Chriſt*; the fourth, concerning *our love to our neighbours.* 4to 1653

4. *A treatiſe concerning repentance*; wherein alſo the doctrine of *reſtitution* is largely handled: with a ſolution of many caſes of conſcience concerning it. 4to 1653

5. *A ſoul-ſearching catechiſm*; wherein is opened and explained, not only the ſix fundamental points, *Heb.* vi. 1. but alſo many other queſtions of higheſt concernment in the chriſtian religion. 2d edition. 4to 1653

6. *A brief catechiſm concerning baptiſm*; firſt publiſh'd at the end of his *Storming of Antichriſt*, afterwards reprinted for the ſatisfaction and information of the people of God in *Lancaſhire.* 1652

7. *An expoſition of the ten firſt chapters of* Matthew, delivered in ſeveral ſermons. 4to 1659

ANOTHER who deſerves to be rank'd amongſt the worthies of this denomination, is Mr. *Benj. Cox*, who in his time made no mean figure amongſt them. He was a biſhop's ſon, a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of our *univerſities* g. He was for ſome time a *miniſter* in the *eſtabliſh'd church*, had a parochial charge ſomewhere in the county of *Devon*, and was very zealous for the ſuperſtitious *ceremonies* that prevailed in biſhop *Laud's* time; of which the *Preſbyterians* afterwards upbraided him when he oppoſed their *eſtabliſhment* h. But notwithſtanding this, when the affairs of ſtate gave men occaſion to think and ſpeak more freely in matters of religion, Mr. *Cox* was amongſt the earlieſt of them in promoting reformation, and was in a fair way of being a very great and famous man in this kingdom, had he not, when he came to take the model of his religion from the ſcriptures only, rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, as not being therein contained. For this hindred him from preferment in the eſtabliſhed church, and prejudiced thoſe divines againſt him who were at the head of *eccleſiaſtical* affairs i. However, as it was, he preſerv'd even among them the character of a man of great *learning* and competent parts;

Mr. Benj: Cox.

Was firſt a miniſter in the eſtabliſh'd church.

g Tombes's *Anſw. to* Bailie, *p.* 21.
h Gangræna, *part* 1. *p.* 38.
i Baxter's *Script. Proof, Introd.*

Disputes with Mr. Baxter,

IN 1644. he had a diſpute with Mr. *Baxter* concerning *infant-baptiſm*; firſt by word of mouth, then by writing; and was afterward *impriſoned* in the city of *Coventry* for his opinion in this point, as has been before obſerved.

and with others at Alder-manbury church.

THE year following he came to *London*, and was one of the principal managers, on the part of the *Baptiſts*, in the *publick diſpute* concerning *infant-baptiſm* at *Alder-manbury* church; to which a ſtop was afterwards put by the government.

HE was ſome time *miniſter* at *Bedford*, after *epiſcopacy* and the *common prayer* were laid aſide[k]. But in the year 1646. when the *ſeven churches* in *London*, called *Anabaptiſts*, publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, and preſented it to the parliament, I find his name ſubſcribed to it in behalf of one of thoſe congregations.

I CANNOT learn certainly either his age, or the time of his death. Mr. *Baxter*, at the beginning of the civil wars, called him *an antient miniſter*[l]. He muſt therefore be very old when he died; for he lived till after the reſtoration. And tho' when the act of *uniformity* in 1662. took place, he at firſt conform'd; yet ſoon after his conſcience ſmote him for what he had done, and he threw up his *living*, and died a *Nonconformiſt* and *Baptiſt*.

[k] Dean's *Letter*, *p.* 8.
[l] *Script. Proofs*, *Introd.*

THERE

THERE were but two pieces, as I can find, published by him.

His works.

1. A DECLARATION concerning the publick dispute which should have been in the publick meeting-house of *Aldermanbury*, *Dec.* 3. 1645. concerning infant-baptism.

2. GOD's ordinance the saints privilege, proved in two treatises. The first, *The Saints Interest by Christ in all the Privileges of Grace cleared, and the Objections against the same answer'd.* The second, *The peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ, and his saving Graces*; wherein is proved, that Christ hath not satisfy'd for the sins of all men, but only for the sins of those that do or shall believe in him; and the objections against the same answer'd.

Mr. Dan. Dyke.

AMONG the worthies of this denomination, I must not omit the mention of that grave divine and solid preacher, Mr. *Daniel Dyke*. He was born at *Epping* in *Essex*, about the year 1617. (his father, Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, being minister of that parish) and had the name of *Daniel* given him in respect to his uncle, the famous Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, B. D. so well known by his excellent treatise, *of the deceitfulness of the heart*, published after his death by the father of Mr. *Dyke* who is the subject of this article.

He quits his living upon the Reformation

AFTER he had been sufficiently instructed at private schools in the country, he was sent to the *university* at *Cambridge*, and there trained up for the *ministry*. And when he came to be publickly employ'd in that sacred work, he was soon took notice of for his great learning and useful preaching, and had suitable preferment bestowed upon him.

Was made chaplain in ordinary to the protector,

HE was made one of the *chaplains* in ordinary to *Oliver Cromwel*, when he came to be lord protector of *England*. He had also the parochial charge of *Great Hadham* in *Hertfordshire*, a place worth at least 300 l. *per annum*. And when the government in the year 1653. appointed a certain number of men to examine and approve all such as should be admitted into livings in the established church, Mr. *Dyke* was fix'd upon to be one of them.

and one of the Tryers.

INDEED his great learning, his seriousness, and piety, together with his solid judgment, render'd him worthy, as well as fit, for so great a trust; and he, with Mr. *John Tombes*, were all the *Baptists* that I can find to have been in this *commission*.

UPON the Restoration, Mr. *Dyke* discover'd himself to be a man of great integrity, and faithfulness to his conscience, and quitted his profitable living, rather than sin against his light, by conforming to episcopal government, and using the ceremonies of the church of *England*. Nor did he

he ſtay till he was forced out by the act of *Uniformity* in 1662. but voluntarily reſigned preſently after the king came in; for he foreſaw the ſtorm that was coming, and the ſnares that muſt attend a man of his principles, while he continued in ſuch a poſt. *He quits his living upon the Reſtoration.*

WHEN his intimate friend and acquaintance Mr. *Caſe*, who was one of thoſe miniſters deputed to wait on the king at the *Hague*, and one of the *commiſſioners* at the *Savoy* to treat about the ſettlement of religion, endeavoured to perſuade him to continue, and told him what a hopeful proſpect they had, from the king's behaviour, &c. Mr. *Dyke* told him plainly, 'That 'they did but deceive and flatter themſelves: That if the king was ſincere in 'his ſhew of piety, and great reſpect to 'them and their religion; yet when he 'came to be ſettled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures 'that would come over with him, would 'have the management of publick affairs, 'and would circumvent all their deſigns, 'and in all probability not only turn them 'out, but take away their liberty too.' And they afterwards found the truth of his words by woful experience.

DR. *Calamy* has put his name in the liſt of the *ejected* or *ſilenced miniſters*, but gives him no other *character*, than that he was an *Anabaptiſt*; which is another inſtance

of the Doctor's *impartiality* and *candour* for the people of this *denomination*.

His resigning his living in the church, and the troubles and persecutions that followed afterwards, did not cause him to lay down the ministry of the word; but he preached afterwards as often as he had opportunity, and was generally preserved by some good providence from the rage and malice of his persecutors. And though he lived in two or three great *storms*, and had several *writs* out against him, yet was never in *prison* except one *night*.

Is ordain'd co-pastor with Mr. William Kiffin *to a* Baptist *church.*

SOMETIME after his leaving his parochial charge, he was chosen and ordain'd co-pastor with Mr. *William Kiffin* to the congregation of *Baptists* at *Devonshire-square*, *London*, and continued a faithful labourer in this vineyard until his death, which was in the year 1688. a little before the *happy Revolution*, when he was about seventy years of age.

HIS funeral-sermon was preached by Mr. *Waner*, at the aforesaid meeting-house, and his corps interr'd at the *Dissenters* burying-ground in *Bunhill-fields*.

HE left behind him two daughters, who may be still living; from the eldest of which this account was received in the year 1716.

HE was a man of so great modesty, and had so mean an opinion of his own abilities, that he could never be prevail'd upon

to publish any thing. Only I find his name, in company with some of his brethren, to two or three printed papers, in composing which it is supposed he had the principal share. As,

1. THE *Baptists Answer to Mr.* Wills's *Appeal.* 8vo 1675. *His works.*

2. AN epistle recommendatory to Mr. *Cox's Confutation of the errors of* Thomas Collier. 4to

3. *The Quakers Appeal answer'd*: or, a full relation of the occasion, progress, and issue of a meeting at *Barbican* between the *Baptists* and the *Quakers.* 8vo 1674.

THERE was another, who though he did not persevere in this profession to the end, yet did so zealously defend it, both by disputation and writing for some time, that should I pass him without notice, some may be ill-natured enough to say it was with design: I mean Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, acknowledged by all parties to have been a man of eminent piety and virtue [m]. His parents designed him from his childhood, for a *minister* of the *church of England*; and in order thereunto, took care to have him, while a boy, well instructed at private schools. And when he had attained a competent measure of grammar-learning, he was sent to one of our *universities*, where *Mr.* Sam. Fisher.

[m] *History of the* Quakers *by* Gerrard Croese.

his diligence and progress was so great, that he surmounted most of his fellows. His mind led him mostly to the study of eloquence. Rhetoric and poetry, were the sciences he then put the greatest value upon. So that he became a man singularly learned, and wonderfully eloquent, and had an accurate knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* antiquities; which so stuck to him, that even after he had changed his religion, and opinion of these *human ornaments*, yet his writings savoured much of them, though contrary to his intention.

Ordained a minister of the church of England.

WHEN he had perfected his *academick* course, and taken his degrees, he was ordained, first a *deacon*, then a *presbyter* of the *church of England*[n]; the former he received from a bishop before the *civil wars*; the latter from certain *Presbyterian* ministers after *episcopacy* was laid aside[o].

Becomes chaplain to Sir Arthur Haselrigg.

HIS first preferment was to be a chaplain in the family of that noble and pious gentleman Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*. He demeaned himself in this station so well, that the report of his fame invited those who knew him, to judge of his ability and skill for greater things, to advance him to a more high and dignified place; and accordingly he obtained a parochial living in *Kent* of 500*l.* a year. But notwithstanding his great learning and high preferment,

Is advanced to the living of Lidd, *in* Rumsey Marsh.

[n] *Baby Bapt.* p. 6.
[o] *Ibid.* p. 12.

he

he ſtill preſerved an humble mind, and affable carriage; and would converſe freely, not only with ſuch who were very much below himſelf, but alſo with ſerious chriſtians, who were of different, and contrary ſentiments from him.

AMONG the reſt there was a *Baptiſt* miniſter in thoſe parts, with whom he kept an intimate correſpondence. This man was frequently calling upon him to juſtify from *ſcripture* the lawfulneſs of *baptizing children*; and to ſhew by what authority they changed the antient cuſtom of *immerſion*, and uſed *ſprinkling* in that ſacrament.

THIS *perſon* was vaſtly inferior to Mr. *Fiſher* both in learning and natural parts; yet in this point he was a means of inſtructing him in the way of the Lord *more fully*; and Mr. *Fiſher* was a man of ſo much integrity and love for the truth, that he would not reject it by what hand ſoever it was brought to him. Therefore when he had diligently examined this matter, and found that the *Baptiſts* were in the right, he freely quitted his living, and returned his *diploma* back to the biſhop; was baptized according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and joined himſelf to a *baptized* congregation at *Aſhford* in *Kent*. This muſt be acknowledged, even by thoſe who reject his *opinion*, to have been an extraordinary inſtance of ſincerity and ſelf-denial.

Quits his living, and joins himſelf to a Baptiſt *congregation.*

HAVING

HAVING left ſo good a *living*, he now contented himſelf with a little he had of his own, and farmed a piece of ground in the neighbourhood, by both which he had enough to live upon. He continued however, ſtill in the exerciſe of the *miniſtry*, and in a little time after took the paſtoral charge of a congregation of *Baptiſts*; and the noiſe of ſo pious and learned a man turning *Baptiſt*, ſpread far and near, and contributed not a little towards the promoting of that doctrine [p]. Some hundreds were baptized by him; and he was frequently engaged in publick diſputes with the moſt learned and zealous advocates for *infant-baptiſm*, as at *Aſhford* in *Kent*, *July* 27. 1649. where he defended his principles againſt ſeveral noted *miniſters*, in the preſence of two thouſand auditors.

Is frequently engaged in publick diſputes.

HE had another diſpute with Dr. *Channel* at *Petworth* in 1651. and at leaſt eight other publick diſputes was he drawn into within the ſpace of three years, always coming off with good ſucceſs and honour to his cauſe. While he continued with the *Baptiſts*, he was an ornament to the whole *ſect*, and looked upon as one of the chief defenders of their doctrine.

ABOUT the year 1655. he was ſtrongly attacked by two leading men of the people called *Quakers*, *Caton* and *Stubbs*, and being

[p] *Baby Bapt.* p. 411.

ing but an unstable man, he was carried away with their *opinions*, and afterwards writ several books in defence of that religion, which are had in great esteem among them. *Goes off to the Quakers.*

WHILE he was among the *Baptists*, he wrote that elaborate treatise, entitled, *Baby Baptism mere Babism*. In this, he not only confutes the false account that had been published of his dispute with several *ministers* at *Ashford*, which was the occasion of his writing on this *controversy*; but also answers particularly, with great learning and many witty turns, what had been written upon this subject, by Dr. *Featley*, Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others; so that it contains the whole of the *controversy* as then managed, and is the only *folio* writ upon it in the *English* tongue.

THE reverend and very pious *Francis Bampfeild*, M. A. was also a divine of great note among this *denomination* of *Protestants*. He descended from a very antient and honourable family in *Devonshire*, and was by his parents designed for the *ministry* from his birth, and educated accordingly. When he was but a child, he discovered a great delight in books and learning, and from his own inclination concurred with the design of his pious parents. After he had been instructed by some of the ablest masters in *grammar-learning*, he *Mr.* Francis Bampfeild, *Manuscr. penes me.*

was

was about the ſixteenth year of his age ſent to the *univerſity*, and educated at *Wadham* college in *Oxon*; where he continued between ſeven and eight years, made great improvements, and commenced *maſter* of arts. When he left the *univerſity*, he was ordained firſt a *deacon*, then a *preſbyter* of the church of *England*; the former by biſhop *Hall*, the latter by biſhop *Skinner*; and was ſoon after preferred to a living of about 100 *l.* a year in *Dorſetſhire*; where he took great pains to inſtruct the people, and promote true religion amongſt them. And having an annuity of 80 *l.* a year for life ſettled on him by his friends, he ſpent all the income of his place in acts of *charity* among his *pariſhioners*; as in giving them *bibles* and other good *books*, ſetting the *poor* to work, and relieving the *neceſſities* of thoſe that could not, and ſuffered not knowingly one *beggar* to be in his pariſh.

Is ordain'd a miniſter in the eſtabliſhed church.

Preferred to a living in Dorſetſhire.

WHILE he was here, he began to ſee, that the church of *England* needed *reformation* in many things, not only in *doctrine* and *worſhip*, but more eſpecially in *diſcipline*; and therefore, as became a ſincere chriſtian, and faithful *miniſter*, he heartily ſet about it, making the laws of Chriſt his only rule in this caſe. But he met with great *oppoſition* and trouble for ſo doing.

ABOUT the ſame time, the people at *Sherbourn*, one of the moſt populous towns in

in *Dorsetshire*, wanting a *minister*, did earnestly solicit him to come thither. Here was more work and less wages; however there being a prospect of doing more good, and finding many thousands of the *people*, as well as the neighbouring *ministers*, very desirous of his removing, after about two years waiting, he accepted their call. And in this *parish* he continued, till the act of *uniformity* took place, to labour with great success, and was universally beloved by his *parishioners*.

Ordained a minister in the established church.

Preferred to a living in Dorsetshire.

ONE thing was very remarkable, if not singular in him; that though he joined heartily in the reformation of the church in those times, yet he was zealous against the *parliament's war*, and *Oliver's usurpation*; constantly asserting the *royal cause* under all those changes, and suffering for it.

Is very zealous in the royal cause:

BUT after the *Restoration*, being utterly unsatisfied in his conscience with the conditions of *conformity*, he took his leave of his sorrowful and weeping *congregation*, the Lord's-day before St. *Bartholomew* [q], in 1662. and was quickly after *imprisoned* for worshipping God in his own family.

SO soon was his unshaken loyalty to the King forgotten; nay, so far was he from having any favour shewn to him on this account, that he was more frequently *imprisoned*, and exposed to greater hardships

Yet more persecuted than other Dissenters.

[q] *Conformists 4th Plea*, P. 44.

for

for his *nonconformity*, than moſt other *Diſſenters*, as will appear in its place.

IN all the changes of the times till now, every *party* was for having a man of ſuch *piety*, ſeriouſneſs and learning kept in the *miniſtry*. Beſides his being approved and ordained by the biſhops beforementioned, when that *hierarchy* was uppermoſt; he had the approbation of the aſſociated *miniſters*, both of the *preſbyterian* and *congregational* perſuaſion. When *Oliver* took the ſupreme power upon him, he voluntarily gave him licenſe and authority under his hand and ſeal. When the *Tryers* were ſet up, to examine and approve publick preachers, they without his ſeeeking for it, gave him their approbation and teſtimony alſo [x]. And beſides all this, he had an *authority* and *licence* for preaching under the hands and ſeals of two Kings, not of his own ſeeking, but procured for him by his friends. But as he did not put any value upon human *authorities*, ſo now they were of no ſervice to him.

Charles I. *and* II.

HE was reſolved however to be faithful to the commiſſion he had received from Jeſus Chriſt, and eſteemed it *more reaſonable to obey God than man*; ſo that all the oppoſition and ſufferings that he met with, neither diſcouraged him in his work, nor cauſed him in the leaſt to decline it.

[x] *Hiſtorical declaration of his life*, p. 6.

WHEN

WHEN he was in *prison*, he preached sometimes every day, and gathered a church even under his confinement. And when he was at liberty, he ceased not *to preach in the name of Jesus*. And he had the courage of being one of the first that set up separate meetings in two or three counties in *England*. In the latter part of his life he came to *London*, where he soon gathered a *congregation*, which met at *Pinner's-hall*, to whom he was *pastor*, and constantly preached, when the evil of the times would permit. But he met with the same ill-treatment here, as he had done in the countries, and was often carried from his meeting to *prison*, and at last died in *Newgate*, *Feb.* 16. 1683. *He gathers a church in prison.* *and died in* Newgate.

ALL that knew him will acknowledge, that he was a man of great piety. And he would in all probability have preserved the same character, with respect to his learning and judgment, had it not been for his opinion in two points, *viz.* That *infants* ought not to be baptized, and that the *Jewish sabbath* ought still to be kept.

HE hath published several tracts. As, *His works.*

1. *A Letter*, containing his judgment for the *observation of the Jewish*, or, *Seventh-day Sabbath*. 8vo 1672

2. *All in one*: All useful sciences and profitable arts in one book of *Jehovah*, &c. folio 1677

3. *The*

3. *The open Confeſſor*, and *The Free-Priſoner*; a ſheet, written when he was a priſoner in *Saliſbury*. 1674

4. *A Name, a new one*; or, an hiſtoriſtorical declaration of his life, eſpecially as to ſome eminent paſſages relating to his call to the miniſtry. 1681

5. *The Houſe of Wiſdom*, &c. for the further promoting of ſcripture-knowledge. 1681

6. *The Free-Priſoner*; a letter written from *Newgate*. 1683

7. *A Juſt Appeal from lower Courts on Earth, to the higheſt Court in Heaven.* 1683

8. *A Continuation* of the former *Juſt Appeal.* 1683

9. *A Gramatical Opening of ſome Hebrew Words and Phraſes in the Beginning of the Bible.* 1684

Mr. Edward Stennett.

MR. *Edward Stennett* was another *Baptiſt* miniſter of note and learning in thoſe times. His wife was Mrs. *Mary Quelch*, whoſe parents were of good repute in the city of *Oxford*. They were both very pious and worthy perſons, and juſtly deſerved the character given them in the epitaph inſcribed on their tomb at *Wallingford*, which was compoſed by their ſon Mr. *Joſeph Stennett*[s], and is as followeth:

[s] Stennett's *works*, vol. IV. p. 274.

Here

Here lies an holy, and an happy pair;
As once in grace, they now in glory share;
They dar'd to suffer, but they fear'd to sin;
And meekly bore the cross, the crown to win:
So liv'd, as not to be afraid to die;
So dy'd, as heirs of immortality.

Reader, attend: tho' dead, they speak to thee;
Tread the same path, the same thine end shall be.

THE part Mr. *Edward Stennett* took in the *civil wars*, being on the side of the *parliament*, exposed him to the neglect of his relations, and afterwards to many difficulties. He was a faithful and laborious *minister*; but his dissent from the *established church*, depriving him of the means whereby to maintain his family, which was large, he applied himself to the study of *physick*; by the practice of which he was enabled to bring up his children, and to give them a liberal education, notwithstanding he bore a considerable share of the *persecution* which the *dissenters* underwent at that time. While I speak of his *sufferings*, it may not be amiss to recite an account of one very extraordinary deliverance he met with, and which was often related by his son, the reverend Mr. *Joseph Stennett*, whose memory is dear to many still living, *viz.*

Applies himself to the study of physick.

'HE dwelt in the castle of *Walling-ford*, a place where no warrant could make forcible entrance, but that of a lord chief justice; and the house was so situated, that assemblies could meet, and every part of religious worship be exercised in it, without any danger of a legal conviction, unless *informers* were admitted, which care was taken to prevent; so that for a long time he kept a constant and undisturbed meeting in his *hall*. A gentleman who was in the commission of the peace, and his very near neighbour, being highly incensed at the continuance of an *assembly* of this kind so near him, after having made several fruitless attempts to get his *emissaries* admitted into the house in order to a conviction, in the rage of a disappointment resolved together with a neighbouring *clergyman*, upon doing it by a *subornation* of *witnesses*. They accordingly hired some persons fit for their purpose, to swear they had been at those *assemblies*, and heard *prayer* and *preaching* there, though they had never been in the house on those occasions. The *clergyman*'s conduct in this affair was the more censured, because he had professed a great friendship for Mr. *Stennett*, and was under considerable

A malicious design against him.

'*Mr.* Joseph Stennett's *life*, P. 4. &c.

obligations

obligations to him; having often had his *assistance* in the way of his *profession* as a *physician*, for his family, without any reward. Mr. *Stennett* finding an *indictment* was laid against him on the *conventicle* act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but *perjury* could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The *assizes* were held at *Newbury*, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at *Oxford*, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The *clergyman*, a few days before the *assizes*, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighbourhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at *Newbury* to help carry it on; but to the surprize of many, his design was frustrated by *sudden death*. One of the *witnesses*, who lived at *Cromish*, was also prevented by being seized with a violent and fad disease, of which he died. Another of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindred. In short, of seven

Circumvented by providence.

or eight perſons engaged in this wicked deſign, there was but one left who was capable of appearing; he was a *gardiner*, who had been frequently employed by Mr. *Stennett* at day-labour, but never lodged in his houſe, nor was admitted to the religious aſſemblies held there. They thought to make him, as he was a ſervant to the family, a very material evidence; and kept him in liquor for ſeveral days to that purpoſe. But coming to his reaſon juſt as the *aſſizes* drew on, he went about the town, exclaiming againſt himſelf for his *ingratitude* and *perjury*, as well as againſt thoſe who had employed him, and abſolutely refuſed to go. So that when Mr. *Stennett* came to *Newbury*, neither *proſecutor* nor *witneſs* appearing againſt him, he was diſcharged of courſe.

His family.

MR. *Edward Stennett* had ſeveral ſons, and one daughter, beſides thoſe who died young. His eldeſt ſon, *Jehudah*, afterwards an eminent *phyſician* at *Henly* upon *Thames*, wrote an *Hebrew* grammar at nineteen years of age, which was printed, and well received by the publick. Another of his ſons, *Benjamin*, proved a valuable and uſeful *miniſter*, but died young. His daughter, chiefly by the inſtructions of her brother *Joſeph* (of whom I ſhall have occaſion to treat hereafter)

acquired

'acquired such skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages as to consult the *scriptures* in their *originals* with ease and pleasure. She was an excellent woman, and married to a worthy gentleman, Mr. *William Morton* of *Knaphill* in the county of *Bucks*.'

Mr. Vavasor Powell.

To these must be added the famous Mr. *Vavasor Powell*, a man of great piety and usefulness, and while he lived, no small honour to this *denomination* of *Protestants*. He was born in the year 1617, and those that have men in esteem for their pedigree, may know, that he descended from a very antient and honourable stock; his father Mr. *Richard Powell* being of a noble family, that had lived for some hundreds of years at *Knocklas*, in *Radnorshire*; and his mother of the *Vavasors*, a family of great antiquity, that came out of *Yorkshire* into *Wales*. So that by both, he became allied to the chief and best families in *North-Wales*, and was saluted by the principal gentry in those parts as their kinsman. He was trained up a scholar, and made a good proficiency in the learned languages; but proved a very wild and unlucky youth, and was therefore termed by his school-fellows and companions *Dux omnium malorum*, which he himself acknowledges to have been just. His first preferment was in the *established church*;

Was first made curate at Clun.

his uncle Mr. *Erasmus Powell*, taking him to be curate at *Clun*, where he also kept a school to augment his income; but was still a stranger to true and unfeigned religion. And though, according to his own expression, he was *a reader of common prayer, and in the habit of a foolish shepherd*; yet was he one that slighted the *scriptures*, a stranger to secret and spiritual prayer, and a great prophaner of the *sabbath*. But by conversing with some serious and godly christians, who in contempt were called *Puritans*, and by reading their books, and hearing their sermons, God was pleased to convince him of his miserable and sinful estate, and to work a great and very remarkable conversion in him. Soon after which, he left the *episcopal church*, and joined with the *Nonconformists*, became a very lively and powerful preacher, and was the means of converting many from the error of their ways. But the more good he did, and the more popular he became, the more *enemies* he had, and with the greater rage did they persecute him. So that in the year 1642 he left his native country, and came to *London*, where there being universal liberty, he preached in several publick places with great approbation, and was some time after invited to settle at *Dartford* in *Kent*; where he went and was blessed with great success in his labours, being instrumental

He leaves the established church, and joins the Nonconformists.

instrumental in bringing many souls to Christ, and gathering a congregation in that town. When he had been there about two years and a half, and the nation a little better settled, especially *Wales*, he was earnestly solicited to return to his own country, there being very few able *ministers* in those parts. And besides his having the language spoken there, he was in great esteem and veneration among that people, and therefore was likely to do more good there, than where he now was.

Settles at Dartford *in* Kent.

By these considerations he was prevailed upon to return thither. And for his further encouragement and reputation, the *Synod* of *ministers*, who were appointed by authority to examine and approve of all publick preachers, gave him their *certificate* and *testimonial*.

Returns to Wales.

THEY being, as I conceive, all *Pædobaptists*, whose *testimonies* in our *favour* have a great value for, I shall therefore insert the copy thereof in this place.

THESE are to certify those whom it may concern, that the bearer hereof, Mr. *Vavasor Powell*, is a man of a religious and blameless conversation, and of able gifts for the work of the *ministry*, and hath approved himself faithful there-

The life of Vavasor Powell, p. 16.

in; which we whose names are under written, do testify, some of our own knowledge, others from credible and sufficient information. And therefore he being now called, and desired to exercise his gifts in his own country of *Wales*, he also having the language thereof, we conceive him fit for that work, and worthy of encouragement therein. In witness whereof, we have here subscribed our names, *Sept.* 11. 1646.

Charles Herle, prolocutor.

Henry Scudder — *Stephen Marshal*
William Greenhill — *Jer. Whitaker*
Franc. Woodcock — *Arthur Salwey*
William Strong — *Peter Sterrey*
Joseph Caryl — *Henry Prince*
William Carter — *Christopher Love*
Thomas Wilson — *Tho. Froysell*
Jer. Borroughs — *Robert Better*
Philip Nye

Is very laborious in the work of the ministry.

WHEN he came down again into his native country, he applied himself to his Lord's work with great zeal and diligence; travelling from place to place, and taking all opportunities to preach the gospel, and win souls to Christ. He frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in a week throughout the year, out of the pulpit, nay, he would sometimes

sometimes rid an hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place, where he might have admittance, either night or day; so that there was hardly a *church*, *chapel* or *town-hall* in all *Wales*, where he had not preached; besides his frequent preaching in *fairs* and *markets*, upon *mountains* and in small *villages*. For if he passed at any time through any place where there was a concourse of people, he would take the opportunity of preaching Christ, and recommending to them the care of their souls, and another world.

THE pains that he took, and the fatigues that he endured, were very great and uncommon, and such as filled all that knew him with admiration. And God was pleased to bless his labours with proportionable success. The people flocked with great zeal and desire to attend his ministry, and many were by his means turned unto the Lord. And whereas, when he left *Wales* in 1642. there was not above one or two gathered churches in those parts, now they began to encrease apace; and before the restoration, there was above twenty distinct societies formed; of which some had two, some three, and some four or five hundred members. *Plants many churches.*

THESE were chiefly gathered and planted by the care and industry of Mr. *Powell*, and they differed very little from one another in their faith and order. MR.

MR. *Powell* drew up a short *confession of faith* in thirty articles, which, as may be gathered from what he says in his *epistle* to the churches in *Wales*, not only contained his own opinion, but the faith and discipline of those churches. It is published at large in the account of his life, and shews, that he, and those churches that were planted by him, followed the *Calvinistical* scheme of doctrines, in the points of *election, justification, effectual Calling, free-will and perseverance*. And though they esteemed none the proper *subjects* of *baptism*, but such as personally made a profession of *repentance* and *faith*, and judged that the right form of administring that *ordinance*, was by *immersion* only, yet did not they make this a boundary of their communion; but asserted, that difference in persuasion and practice in this and many other cases, might very well consist with brotherly-love and christian communion. They were also for ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in publick worship, laying on of hands on the newly-baptized, and anointing the sick with oil, according to the apostolical direction. *James* v. 14, 15.

IN *Feb.* 1649. an act of parliament passed for the propagating of the gospel in *Wales*, the design of which was, that the many

* *Tregilis*, entitled, The Bird in the Cage

A *parishes*

parishes in those parts that were without *ministers* might be supplied, and that such insufficiencies as were *ignorant* or *scandalous*, might be removed, and others duly qualified put in their room.

SEVERAL gentlemen of the best reputation for piety and integrity in those parts, as well *ministers* as others, were appointed *commissioners* for the execution of this act; and among the rest, Mr. *Hanserd Powell* was one. By having this honour and power conferred upon him, he was put into a capacity of doing a great deal more good than otherwise he could have done. Yet it created him a great deal of trouble, and raised him up many *enemies*, who did not spare to load him with *reproaches*, and accuse him with the worst of crimes.

Is appointed one of the commissioners for propagating the gospel in Wales.

THOUGH this act continued in force but for three years, yet they represented, that the *commissioners* got great estates by it; that the profits arising by *tythes*, of which by this act they were to have the disposal, was put into their own pockets; that godly and learned *ministers* were turned out, and worse or none put in their room, insomuch, that the generality of the people were either turned *Atheists* or *Papists*. And and all this was chiefly laid at the door of Mr. *Powell*, and not only whispered about privately, but published in *pamphlets*, without either author or printers name.

Is very much reproached by his enemies.

ACCOUNT one I have now by me, entitled, *Strena Vavasoriensis*; or, *A New-Year's Gift for the Welch Itinerants*, &c. A more malicious piece could not be written, full of the most abominable *lyes* and *slanders* that malice could invent. But Mr. *Powell* was fully cleared, not only by the account which he himself gave of their whole proceedings in this affair, but also by the *testimony* of many *magistrates*, *ministers*, and other credible persons of different opinions in religion, who had the inspection of this matter, and published a vindication of him in the year 1654. entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavasorii*.

But honourably cleared.

HE was greatly harrassed by his *persecutors*, and kept a *prisoner* about ten years. And during the time of his last illness, though his *physician* ordered he should be kept from speaking much, yet so zealously was he affected for the glory of God, and with the love of Christ, that neither his pains, bodily weakness, or the tender advice of friends, could possibly restrain him; but he would, notwithstanding all, break forth into high and heavenly praises, sometimes by *prayer*, and sometimes by *singing*.

His last sickness and death in prison.

HIS patience under all his pains was very great. He would under the greatest pain bless God, and say, he would not entertain one bad thought of God for all the

world.

world. The light of the pardon of ſin and reconciliation with God, was ſo clear, and without interruption, even to the laſt, that it was as a fire in his boſom till he ſpake of it; and very hardly would he be reſtrained at any time: and when he had ſpent his ſtrength in ſpeaking, then would he compoſe himſelf to get a little more ſtrength, that he might go on to ſpeak further of the grace of God towards him, and to give ſeaſonable advice to all about him; and ſo continued till God took away his ſtrength and ſpeech from him. He kept his bed about thirty days, and finiſhed his courſe, ſervice and ſufferings, on the 27th of *October* 1670. at *Klarkone-houſe*, the then fleet-priſon in *Lambeth*, in the eleventh year of his impriſonment, and in the 53d of his age. Says the writer of his life,

In vain oppreſſors do themſelves perplex,
To find out acts, how they the ſaints may vex;
Death ſpoils their plots, and ſets th' oppreſſed free;
Thus Vavaſor obtained true liberty,
Chriſt him releas'd, and now he's join'd among
The martyr'd-ſouls, *with whom he cries,* how long?

The ſeveral books that he publiſhed, were,

1. Chriſt

His works.

1. Christ *and* Moses's *excellency*; or Zion *and* Sina's *glory*. 8vo 1650
2. *A Dialogue between Christ and a Publican; Christ and a doubting Christian.*
3. *Christ exalted by the Father; God the Father glorified; and Man's Redemption finished.*
4. *The Bird in the Cage, chirping.* 8vo 1661
5. *Common Prayer no Divine Service.* 4to 1660
6. *The Sufferer's Catechism.*
7. *A Scriptural Catechism.*
8. *Sinful and sinless Swearing.*
9. *A Scripture Concordance.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PREFACE. Page xiv. line 13. *for* Pyeton *read* Pyrton. p. xix. l. 13. *for* Viana *read* Vienna.

HISTORY. Page 16. line 28. *for* of oil of chrisom, *read* of oil, chrisom, &c. p. 56. l. 31. *for* whch *read* which. p. 65. l. 22. *for* peo- *read* people. p. 249. l. 5. *for* much *read* many. p. 325. l. 14. *for* his *read* this. p. 328. l. 31. *for* again *read* against. p. 344. l. 32. *for* defence it *read* defence of it.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

Anno Dom. 1611. An. Reg. Jac. 9.

The commiſſion and warrant for the condemnation and execution of Edward Wightman, *at* Litchfeild; *with an account of his heretical opinions.*

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our right truſty, and right well-beloved councellour, *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmere*, our chancellour of *England*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in God, *Richard*, biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, having judicially proceeded in the examination, hearing, and determining of a cauſe of hereſie againſt *Edward Wightman*, of the pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the dioceſe of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, concerning the wicked hereſies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, of *Photinus*, and *Anabaptiſts*,

baptiſts, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions, by the inſtinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, *viz.*

1. THAT there is not the Trinity of Perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in the unity of the Deity. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God and of the ſame ſubſtance, eternity, and majeſty with the Father, in reſpect of his Godhead. 3. That Jeſus Chriſt is only man, and a mere creature, and not both God and man in one perſon. 4. That Chriſt our Saviour took not human fleſh, of the ſubſtance of the virgin *Mary* his mother; and that that promiſe, *The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head*, was not fulfilled in Chriſt. 5. That the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt is not God coequal, co-eternal, and co-eſſential with the Father and the Son. 6. That the three Creeds, *viz.* The Apoſtles Creed, the *Nicene* Creed, the *Athanaſian* Creed, are the hereſies of the *Nicolaitans*. 7. That he the ſaid *Edward Wightman* is that prophet ſpoken of in the eighteenth of *Deut.* in theſe words, *I will raiſe them up a prophet*, &c. and that place of *Iſaiah*, *I alone have troden the winepreſs*; and that that place, *Whoſe fan is in his hand*, are proper and perſonal to him the ſaid *Edward Wightman*. 8. And that he the ſaid *Wightman* is that perſon of the *Holy Ghoſt* ſpoken of in the Scriptures; and the *Comforter* ſpoken of in the ſixteenth of St. *John*'s goſpel. 9. And that thoſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, *of the ſin of blaſpheming againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, are meant of his perſon. 10. And that that place, the fourth of *Mal.* of *Elias to come*, is likewiſe meant of his perſon. 11. That the

ſoul

ſoul doth ſleep in the ſleep of the firſt death, as well as the body; and is mortal as touching the ſleep of the firſt death, as the body is: And that the ſoul of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt did ſleep in that ſleep of death as well as his body. 12. That the ſouls of the elect ſaints departed are not members poſſeſſed of the triumphant church in heaven. 13. That the baptizing of infants is an abominable cuſtom. 14. That there ought not in the church the uſe of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the elements of bread and wine; and the uſe of baptiſm to be celebrated in the element of water, as they are now practiſed in the church of *England*: But that the uſe of baptiſm is to be adminiſter'd in water, only to converts of ſufficient age and underſtanding, converted from infidelity to the faith. 15. That God hath ordained and ſent him, the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, to perform his part in the work of the ſalvation of the world, to deliver it by his teaching or admonition, from the hereſie of the *Nicolaitans*, as Chriſt was ordained and ſent to ſave the world, and by his death to deliver it from ſin, and to reconcile it to God. 16. And that Chriſtianity is not wholly profeſſed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part. Wherein he the ſaid *Edward Wightman* hath before the ſaid reverend father, as alſo before our commiſſioners, for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, within our realm of *England*, maintained his ſaid moſt perilous and dangerous opinions; as appeareth by many of his confeſſions; as alſo by a book written and ſubſcribed by him, and given to us; for the which his damnable and heretical opinions, he is by divine ſentence, declared by the ſaid

reverend father, the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, with the advice and conſent of learned divines, and others learned in the law, aſſiſting him in judgment, juſtly adjudged, pronounced, and declared to be an obſtinate and incorrigible heretick, and is left by them under the ſentence of the great excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt member to be cut off from the reſt of the flock of Chriſt, leſt he ſhould infect others profeſſing the true Chriſtian faith; and is to be by our ſecular power and authority, as an heretick, puniſhed; as by the *ſignificavit* of the ſaid reverend father in God, the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, bearing date at *Litchfeild*, the fourteenth day of *Dec.* in the ninth Year of our reign, and remaining in our court of *Chancery*, more at large appeareth. And although the ſaid *Edward Wightman* hath ſince the ſaid ſentence pronounced againſt him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the ſaid Biſhop, as by many other godly, grave and learned divines, to diſſuade, revoke and remove him from the ſaid blaſphemous, heretical, and ana-baptiſtical opinions; yet he arrogantly and wilfully reſiſteth and continueth in the ſame. We therefore, according to our regal function and office, minding the execution of juſtice in this behalf, and to give example to others, leſt they ſhould attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the aſſent of our council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you our ſaid chancellour, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award, and make out, under our great ſeal of *England*, our writ of execution, according to the tenour in theſe pre-

preſents enſuing; and theſe preſents ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for the ſame.

THEN was a warrant granted by the King to the lord chancellour of *England*, to award a writ under the great ſeal to the ſheriff of *Litchfield*, for burning of *Edward Wightman*, delivered over to the ſecular power by the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*.

The WARRANT.

THE King to the ſheriff of our city of *Litchfeild*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in Chriſt, *Richard*, by divine providence, of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* biſhop, hath ſignified unto us, That he judicially proceeding, according to the exigence of the eccleſiaſtical canons, and of the laws and cuſtoms of this our kingdom of *England*, againſt one *Edward Wightman*, of the pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the dioceſe of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, of, and upon the wicked hereſies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptiſts*, and other arch-hereticks; and moreover, of other curſed opinions, belched, by the inſtinct of Satan excogitated, and heretofore unheard of; the aforeſaid *Edward Wightman* appearing before the aforeſaid reverend father, and other divines and learned in the law, aſſiſting him in judgment, the aforeſaid wicked crimes, hereſies, and other deteſtable blaſphemies and errors, ſtubbornly and pertinaciouſly, knowingly, maliciouſly, and with an hardened heart, publiſhed, defended

fended and diſperſed; by definitive ſentence of the ſaid reverend father, with the conſent of divines, learned in the law aforeſaid, juſtly, lawfully, and canonically, againſt the ſaid *Edward Wightman* in that part brought, ſtands adjudged, and pronounced an heretick; and therefore, as a diſeaſed ſheep out of the flock of the Lord, leſt our ſubjects he do infect by his contagion, he hath decreed to be caſt out and cut off. Whereas therefore the holy mother church hath not further in this part what it ought more to do and proſecute, the ſame reverend father, the ſame *Edward Wightman* as a blaſphemous and condemned heretick, hath left to our ſecular power to be puniſhed with condign puniſhment; as by the letters patents of the aforeſaid reverend father the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* in this behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us in our *Chancery*. We therefore, as a zealot of juſtice, and a defender of the catholick faith, and willing that the holy church, and the rights and liberties of the ſame, and the catholick faith to maintain and defend, and ſuch like Hereſies and Errors every where, ſo much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and hereticks ſo convict to puniſh with condign puniſhment, holding that ſuch an heretick in the aforeſaid form convict and condemned, according to the laws and cuſtoms of this our kingdom of *England* in this part accuſtomed, ought to be burned with fire. We command thee, that thou cauſe the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, being in thy cuſtody, to be committed to the fire in ſome publick and open place below the city aforeſaid, for the cauſe aforeſaid, before the people; and the

ſame

ſame *Edward Wightman*, in the ſame fire, cauſe really to be burned, in the deteſtation of the ſaid crime, and for manifeſt example of other Chriſtians, that they may not fall into the ſame crime. And this no ways omit, under the peril that ſhall follow thereon. Witneſs, *&c.*

NUMB. II.

A CONFESSION *of* FAITH *of ſeven congregations, or churches of Chriſt in* London, *which are commonly, but unjuſtly called* Anabaptiſts; *publiſhed for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewiſe for the taking off thoſe aſperſions, which are frequently, both in pulpit and print, unjuſtly caſt upon them. Printed at* London, Anno 1646.

I.

THE Lord our God is but one God, whoſe ſubſiſtence is in himſelf; whoſe eſſence cannot be comprehended by any but himſelf, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; who is in himſelf moſt holy, every way infinite, in greatneſs, wiſdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth; who giveth being, moving, and preſervation to all creatures.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Iſa. xliv. 6. — xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Iſa. xliii. 15. Pſal. cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

II.

1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1. —— xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine Essence, yet the Essence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature, and being, but distinguished by several peculiar relative properties.

III.

Isa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Psal. cxv. 3. —— cxxxv. 6. —— xxxiii. 15. 1 Sam. x. 9, 26. Prov. xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Psal. cxliv. Isa. xlv. 7. Jer. xiv. 22. Mat. vi. 28, 30 Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 4. Jer. x. 10. Eph. i. 4, 5.

God hath decreed in himself, before the world was, concerning all things, whether necessary, accidental or voluntary, with all the circumstances of them, to work, dispose, and bring about all things according to the counsel of his own will, to his glory: (Yet without being the author of sin, or having fellowship with any therein) in which appears his wisdom in disposing all things, unchangeableness, power, and faithfulness in accomplishing his decree: And God hath before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained some men to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace; leaving the rest in their sin to their just condemnation, to the praise of his justice.

Jude 4, 6. Prov. xvi. 4.

IV.

Gen. i. 1. Col. i. 16. Isa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Eccles. vii. 29. Gen. iii. 1, 4, 5. 2 Cor. xi. 3.

In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own Image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first *Eve*, then by her seducing

cing *Adam*; who without any compulſion, in eating the forbidden fruit, tranſgreſſed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his poſterity; who now are conceived in ſin, and by nature the children of wrath, the ſervants of ſin, the ſubjects of death, and other miſeries in this world, and for ever, unleſs the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſet them free,

1 Tim. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12. —— xviii. 19. —— vi. 22. Eph. ii. 3.

V.

GOD in his infinite power and wiſdom, doth diſpoſe all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befals any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatſoever befals the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.

Job xxxviii. 11. Iſa. xlvi. 10, 11. Eccleſ. iii. 14. Mar. x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

VI.

ALL the elect being loved of God with an everlaſting love, are redeemed, quickned, and ſaved, not by themſelves, nor their own works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt, but, only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt, who is made unto us by God, wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth, might rejoice in the Lord.

Jer. xxxi. 3. Eph. i. 3, 7. —— ii. 8, 9. 1 Theſ. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. Jer. xxiii. 6.

VII.

AND this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God,

John xvii. 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Theſ. i. 8.

John vi. 36. God, and obey not the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

VIII.

THE rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worſhip of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not mens laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the holy Scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatſoever is needful for us to know, believe, and practiſe; which are the only rule of holineſs and obedience for all ſaints, at all times, in all places to be obſerved.

Col. ii. 23. Mat. xv. 9, 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. Iſa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

IX.

THE Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of whom *Moſes* and the Prophets wrote, the Apoſtles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightneſs of his glory, *&c.* by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who alſo when the fulneſs of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of *Judah*, of the ſeed of *Abraham* and *David*; to wit, of the virgin *Mary*, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the moſt High overſhadowing her; and he was alſo tempted as we are, yet without ſin.

Gen. iii. 15. —— xxii. 18. —— xlix. 10. Dan. vii. 13. —ix. 24, *&c.* Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 8. Gal. iv. 4. Heb. vii. 14. Rev. v. 5. Gen. xlix. 9, 10. Rom. i. 3. & ix. 10. Mat. i. 16. Luke iii. 23, 26. Heb. ii. 16. Iſa. liii. 3, 4, 5. Heb. iv. 15.

X.

JESUS Chriſt is made the mediator of the new and everlaſting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, prieſt, and king of the church of God for evermore.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix 15. John xiv. 6. Iſa. ix. 6, 7.

XI.

XI.

UNTO this office he was appointed by God from everlaſting; and in reſpect of his manhood, from the womb called, ſeparated, and anointed moſt fully and abundantly with all gifts neceſſary, God having without meaſure poured out his Spirit upon him.

Prov. viii. 23.
Iſa. xlii. 6.
— xlix. 1.
— xi. 2, 3, 4, 5.
— lxi. 1, 2.
Luk. iv. 17, 22.
John i. 14, 26.
—— iii. 34.

XII.

CONCERNING his mediatorſhip, the Scripture holds forth Chriſt's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God as was *Aaron*, it being an action of God, whereby a ſpecial promiſe being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promiſe is, that Chriſt ſhould be made a ſacrifice for ſin; that he ſhould ſee his ſeed, and prolong his days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand; all of meer free and abſolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreſeen in them to procure it.

Heb. v. 4, 5, 6.
Iſa. liii. 10, 11.
John iii. 16.
Rom. viii. 32.

XIII.

THIS office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, prieſt, and king of the church of God, is ſo proper to Chriſt, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be tranſferred from him to any other.

1 Tim. ii. 5.
Heb. vii. 24.
Dan. vii. 14.
Acts iv. 12.
Luke i. 33.
John xiv. 6.

XIV.

THIS office to which Chriſt is called, is threefold; a prophet, prieſt, and king: This number and order of offices is neceſſary, for in reſpect of our ignorance, we ſtand in need of his prophetical office; and in reſpect of our

Deut. viii. 15.
Acts iii. 22, 23.
Heb. iii. 1.
—— iv. 14, 15.
Pſal. ii. 6.
2 Cor. v. 20.
Acts xxvi. 18.

Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Pſal. cx. 3. Cant. i. 3. John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

our great alienation from God, we need his prieſtly office to reconcile us; and in reſpect of our averſeneſs and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, ſubdue, draw, uphold and preſerve us to his heavenly kingdom.

XV.

John i. 18. — xii. 49, 50. — xvii. 8. Deut. xviii. 15. Mat. xxiii. 10. Heb. iii. 1. Mal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. 2. 3.

CONCERNING the prophecy of Chriſt, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatſoever is needful for his ſervants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apoſtle of our profeſſion, and the angel of the covenant, but alſo the very wiſdom of God, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the ſame truth of the goſpel to his people.

XVI.

John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15 Heb. i. 1.

THAT he might be a prophet every way compleat, it was neceſſary he ſhould be God, and alſo that he ſhould be man: For unleſs he had been God, he could never have perfectly underſtood the will of God; and unleſs he had been man, he could not ſuitably have unfolded it in his own perſon to men.

That Jeſus Chriſt is God is wonderful clearly expreſſed in the Scriptures. *He is called the mighty God,* Iſa. ix. 6. *That word was God,* John i. 1. *Chriſt, who is God over all,* Rom. ix. 5. *God manifeſted in the Fleſh,* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *The ſame is very God,* John v. 20. *He is the firſt,* Rev. i. 8. *He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made,* John i. 2. *He forgiveth ſins,* Mat. ix. 6. *He is before* Abraham, John viii. 58. *He was and is, and ever will be the ſame,* Heb. xiii. 8. *He is always with his to the end of the world,* Mat. xxviii. 20. *Which could not be ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, if he were not God. And to the Son he ſaith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,* Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Alſo,

Alſo, Chriſt is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. *Made of the ſeed of* David, Rom. i. 3. *Coming out of the loins of* David, Acts ii. 30. *Of* Jeſſe *and* Judah, Acts xiii. 23. *In that the children were partakers of fleſh and blood he himſelf likewiſe took part with them,* Heb. ii. 14. *He took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of* Abraham, ver. 16. *So that we are bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh,* Eph. v. 30. *So that he that ſanctifieth, and they that are ſanctified are all of one,* Heb. ii. 11. *See* Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVII.

CONCERNING his prieſthood, Chriſt having ſanctified himſelf, hath appeared once to put away ſin by that one offering of himſelf a ſacrifice for ſin, by which he hath fully finiſhed and ſuffered all things God required for the ſalvation of his elect, and removed all rites and ſhadows, *&c.* and is now enter'd within the vail into the holy of holies, which is the preſence of God. Alſo, he makes his people a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Chriſt offer to the Father, any other worſhip or worſhippers.

John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, *&c.* Rom. viii. 34. Heb. ix. 24. —— viii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

XVIII.

THIS prieſthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of *Melchiſedec*, and is ſtable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is ſuitable to Jeſus Chriſt, as to him that ever liveth. Chriſt was the prieſt, ſacrifice, and altar: He was a prieſt according to both natures; he was a ſacrifice according to his human nature; whence in ſcripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood: Yet the effectualneſs of this ſacrifice did depend upon his divine nature; therefore

Heb. vii. 16, *&c.* Heb. v. 6. —— x. 10. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20, 22. Heb. ix. 13.

it

Acts xx. 28. Heb. ix. 14. —— xiii. 10, 12, 15. Mat. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19.

it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to ſanctify that which is offered upon it, and ſo it ought to be of greater dignity than the ſacrifice it ſelf.

XIX.

1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Mat. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1. —— v. 30, 31. John xix. 36. Rom. xiv. 9. John v. 26, 27. Rom. v. 6, 7, 8. —— xiv. 17. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. John xvi. 15. Job ii. 8. Rom. i. 21. —— xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Pet. ii.

CONCERNING his kingly office, Chriſt being riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth ſpiritually govern his church, and doth exerciſe his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preſervation and ſalvation of the elect, and to the overruling and deſtruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits of his propheſy and prieſthood to his elect, ſubduing their ſins, preſerving and ſtrengthening them in all their conflicts againſt Satan, the world, and the fleſh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his ſpirit: By this his mighty power he ruleth the veſſels of wrath, uſing, limiting and reſtraining them, as it ſeems good to his infinite wiſdom.

XX.

1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. Heb. ix. 28. 2 Theſ. i. 9, 10. 1 Theſ. iv. 15, 16, 17. John xvii. 21, 26.

THIS his kingly power ſhall be more fully manifeſted when he ſhall come in glory to reign among his ſaints, when he ſhall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifeſted in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.

XXI.

XXI.

JESUS Christ by his death did purchase ſalvation for the elect that God gave unto him: Theſe only have intereſt in him, and fellowſhip with him, for whom he makes interceſſion to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as alſo the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none elſe.

Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 9. Mat. i. 21. John xvii. 6. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13. —— iii. 16.

XXII.

FAITH is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the ſpirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the ſcriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Chriſt in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulneſs of the Spirit in its workings and operations; and ſo are enabled to caſt their ſouls upon this truth thus believed.

Eph. ii. 8. John vi. 29. —— iv. 16. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. 22. John xvii. 17. —— Heb. iv. 11, 12. John vi. 63.

XXIII.

ALL thoſe that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; ſeeing the gifts of God are without repentance; ſo that he ſtill begets and nouriſheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many ſtorms and floods ariſe, and beat againſt them, yet they ſhall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are faſten'd upon; notwithſtanding, through unbelief, and the tempta-

Mat. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10. —— x. 28, 29. 1 Pet i. 4, 5, 6. Iſa. xlix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

temptations of Satan, the ſenſible ſight of this light and love, be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is ſtill the ſame, and they ſhall be ſure to be kept by the power of God unto ſalvation, where they ſhall enjoy their purchaſed poſſeſſion, they being engraven upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity.

XXIV.

Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Rom. iii. 12. —— i. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

FAITH is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the goſpel, or word of Chriſt, without reſpect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly paſſive, and dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, doth believe and is converted by no leſs power than that which raiſed Chriſt from the dead.

XXV.

John 3. 14, 15. —— i. 12. Iſa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5. —— v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31. —— ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22, 24.

THE preaching of the goſpel to the converſion of ſinners, is abſolutely free; no way requiring as abſolutely neceſſary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceeding miniſtry of the law, but only and alone the naked ſoul, a ſinner and ungodly, to receive Chriſt crucified, dead and buried, and riſen again; who is made a prince and a ſaviour for ſuch ſinners as through the goſpel ſhall be brought to believe on him.

XXVI.

1 Pet. i. 5. 2 Cor. xii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Phil. ii. 12, 13.

THE ſame power that converts to faith in Chriſt, carrieth on the ſoul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, ſufferings; and whatſoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carri-

carried on in all obedience and temptations by the same.

John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVII.

ALL believers are by Christ united to God; by which union, God is one with them, and they are one with him; and that all believers are the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ, to whom belong all the promises of this life, and that which is to come.

1 Thes. i. 1. John xvii. 21. —— xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVIII.

THOSE that have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins by the blood of Christ, which justification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty sinner from all sin, by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death for all their sins, and this applied (in the manifestation of it) through faith.

1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14. —— ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23. Acts xiii. 38, 39. Rom. v. 1. —— iii. 25, 30.

XXIX.

ALL believers are a holy and sanctified people, and that sanctification is a spiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifested in the soul, whereby the believer presseth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands, which Christ as head and king in his new covenant hath prescribed to them.

1 Cor. xii. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Mat. xxviii. 20.

XXX.

ALL believers through the knowledge of that justification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Christ, have as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation,

2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10 Isa. liv. 10. —— x.

Eph. ii. 13, 14. —— iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11. whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace paſſing all underſtanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have received the atonement.

XXXI.

Rom. vii. 23, 24. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Rom. viii. 29. 1 Theſ. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5. ALL believers in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat againſt ſin, ſelf, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations and perſecutions, being predeſtinated and appointed thereunto, and whatſoever the ſaints poſſeſs or enjoy of God ſpiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.

XXXII.

John xvi. 33. —— xv. 5. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18. THE only ſtrength by which the ſaints are enabled to encounter with all oppoſitions and trials, is only by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the captain of their ſalvation, being made perfect through ſufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulneſs and ſtrength to aſſiſt them in all their afflictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preſerve them by his power to his everlaſting kingdom.

XXXIII.

Mat. xi. 11. 2 Theſ. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9. —— xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. JESUS Chriſt hath here on earth a ſpiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchaſed and redeemed to himſelf as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of viſible ſaints, called and ſeparated from the world by the word and ſpirit of God, to the viſible profeſſion of the faith of

the goſpel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Chriſt their head and king.

Acts ii. 37.
—— x. 37.
Rom. x. 10.
Mat. xviii. 19, 20.
Acts ii. 42.
Acts ix. 26.
1 Pet. ii. 5.

XXXIV.

To this church he hath made his promiſes, and giveth the ſigns of his covenant, preſence, acceptation, love, bleſſing, and protection. Here are the fountains and ſprings of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refreſh and ſtrengthen them.

Mat. xxviii. 18, &c.
1 Cor. xi. 24.
—— iii. 21.
2 Cor. vi. 18.
Rom. ix. 4, 5.
Pſal. cxxxiii. 3.
Rom. iii. 7, 10.
Ezek. xlvii. 8.

XXXV.

And all his ſervants of all eſtates (are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, prieſt, and king;) and called thither to be enrolled among his houſhold ſervants, to preſent their bodies and ſouls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled ſheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his ſaints, that they may be aſſured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to ſupply each others wants, inward and outward; (and although each perſon hath a propriety in his own eſtate, yet they are to ſupply each others wants, according as their neceſſities ſhall require, that the name of Jeſus Chriſt may not be blaſphemed through the neceſſity of any in the church) and alſo being come, they are here by himſelf to be beſtowed in their ſeveral order, due place, peculiar uſe,

Acts ii. 41, 47.
Iſa. iv. 3.
1 Cor. xii. 6, 7. &c.
Ezek. xx. 40, 37.
Cant. iv. 12.
Eph. ii. 19.
Rom. xii. 4, 5, 6.
Col. i. 12.
—— ii. 5, 6, 19.
Acts xx. 32.
—— v. 4.
—— ii. 44, 45.
—— iv. 34, 35.
Luke xiv. 26.
1 Tim. vi. 1.
Eph. iv. 16.

being fitly compact and knit together according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of it ſelf in love.

XXXVI.

Acts i. 25, 26. —— vi. 3. —— xv. 22, 23. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 2 Tim. iii. 2, 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3. iv. 15.

BEING thus joined, every church hath power given them from Chriſt, for their well-being, to chooſe among themſelves meet perſons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as thoſe which Chriſt hath appointed in his teſtament, for the feeding, governing, ſerving, and building up of his church; and that none have any power to impoſe on them either theſe or any other.

XXXVII.

Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.

THAT the miniſters lawfully called, as aforeſaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

XXXVIII.

1 Cor. ix. 7, 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Pſal. cx. 3.

THE miniſters of Chriſt ought to have whatſoever they ſhall need, ſupplied freely by the church, that according to Chriſt's ordinance they that preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the goſpel by the law of Chriſt.

XXXIX.

Mat. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38.

BAPTISM is an ordinance of the new teſtament, given by Chriſt, to be diſpenſed upon perſons profeſſing faith, or that are made diſciples; who upon profeſſion of faith, ought to

to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper. Acts viii. 36, 37, &c.

XL.

THAT the way and manner of the diſpenſing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a ſign, muſt anſwer the things ſignified, which is, that intereſt the ſaints have in the death, burial, and reſurrection of Chriſt: And that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and riſen again; ſo certainly ſhall the bodies of the ſaints be raiſed by the power of Chriſt, in the day of the reſurrection, to reign with Chriſt. Mat. iii. 6, 16. Mar. xv. 9, *reads* [*into* Jordan] *in* Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5. —— vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

The word baptizo *ſignifies to dip or plunge (yet ſo as convenient garments be both upon the adminiſtrator and ſubject with all modeſty.)*

XLI.

THE perſon deſigned by Chriſt to diſpenſe baptiſm, the ſcripture holds forth to be a diſciple; it being no where tied to a particular church officer, or perſon extraordinarily ſent, the commiſſion injoining the adminiſtration, being given to them as conſidered diſciples, being men able to preach the goſpel. Iſa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Mat. xxviii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7. —— xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2. —— x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi, 2. Mat. xviii. 17.

XLII.

CHRIST hath likewiſe given power to his church to receive in, and caſt out, any member that deſerves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular perſon, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowſhip. Rom. xvi. 2. Mat. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 11, 13. —— xii. 6. —— ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

XLIII.

Mat. xviii. 16. —— xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1, 2, 3.

AND every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned ſoever, is ſubject to this cenſure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderneſs, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed againſt her members.

XLIV.

Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17, 24. Mat. xxiv. 45. 1 Theſ. v. 2, 14. Jude 3, 20. Heb. x. 34, 35. —— xii. 15.

CHRIST for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth ſome ſpecial men over the church; who by their office, are to govern, overſee, viſit, watch; ſo likewiſe for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

XLV.

1 Cor. xiv. 6, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Theſ. v. 19, &c.

ALSO ſuch to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to propheſy, according to the proportion of faith, and ſo to teach publickly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the church.

XLVI.

Rev. ii. & iii. Chap. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21, 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1. —— xv. 1, 2, 3.

THUS being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the goſpel of Chriſt, none are to ſeparate for faults and corruptions (for as long as the church conſiſts of men ſubject to failings, there will be difference in the true conſtituted church) until they have in due order, and tenderneſs, ſought redreſs thereof.

XLVII.

XLVII.

AND although the particular congregations be diſtinct, and ſeveral bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within it ſelf; yet are they all to walk by one rule of truth; ſo alſo they (by all means convenient) are to have the counſel and help one of another, if neceſſity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Chriſt their head.

1 Cor. iv. 17. —— xiv. 33, 36. —— xvi. 1. Pſal. cxxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12, 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim. iii. 15. —— vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1, 4. & xiii. 14.

XLVIII.

A CIVIL magiſtracy is an ordinance of God, ſet up by him for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, ſubjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conſcience-ſake; and that we are to make ſupplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.

Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3.

The ſupreme magiſtracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now eſtabliſhed) freely choſen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulneſs, that God hath made this preſent king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, becauſe of their tyranny and oppreſſion over us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever ingaged to bleſs God, and honour them for the ſame. And concerning the worſhip of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to ſave and deſtroy, Jam. iv. 12. *which is Jeſus Chriſt, who hath given laws and rules ſufficient in his word for his worſhip; and for any to make more, were to charge Chriſt with want of wiſdom, or faithfulneſs, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his houſe: Surely it is our wiſdom, duty, and privilege, to obſerve*

observe Christ's lawes only, Psal. ii. 6, 9, 10, 12. *So it is the magistrates duty to tender the liberty of mens consciences,* Eccles. viii. 8. *(which is the tenderest thing unto all conscientious men, and most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less injoying) and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression and molestation; so it is our duty not to be wanting in nothing which is for their honour and comfort, and whatsoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be our express duty, especially in matters of religion, to be fully perswaded in our minds of the lawfulness of what we do, as knowing whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our understandings and consciences, so neither can we forbear the doing of that which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrate should require us to do otherwise, we are to yeild our Persons in a passive way to their power, as the saints of old have done,* Jam. v. 4. *And thrice happy shall he be, that shall lose his life for witnessing (though but for the least title) of the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ,* 1 Pet. v. Gal. v.

XLIX.

Acts ii. 40, 41. —— iv. 19. —— v. 28, 29. —— xx. 23. 1 Thes. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17. —— vi. 7, 10, 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1, 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. Rom. xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Psal. xlix. 7. —— l. 22.

BUT in case we find not the magistrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not suspend our practice, because we believe we ought to go in obedience to Christ, in professing the faith which was once delivered to the saints, which faith is declared in the holy scriptures, and this our confession of faith a part of them, and that we are to witness to the truth of the old and new testament unto the death, if necessity require, in the midst of all trials and afflictions, as his saints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters; yea, and our own lives dear unto us, so we may finish our course with joy; remembring always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will when we have finished our course, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteousness; to whom we must give an account of all our actions, and no man

man being able to diſcharge us of the ſame.

L.

It is lawful for a Chriſtian to be a magiſtrate or civil officer; and alſo it is lawful to take an oath, ſo it be in truth, and in judgment, and in righteouſneſs, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all ſtrife; and that by raſh and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.

Acts viii. 38. —— x. 1, 2, 35. Rom. xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

LI.

We are to give unto all men whatſoever is their due, as their place, age, eſtate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men, as we would they ſhould do unto us.

1 Thef. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7. Mat. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Pet. ii. 15, 17.

1 Pet. v. 5. Eph. v. 21, 23. & vi. 1, 9. Tit. iii. 1, 2, 3.

LII.

There ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead, both of the juſt and unjuſt, and every one ſhall give an account of himſelf to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad,

Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

The Conclusion.

THUS we deſire to give unto Chriſt that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh ſaints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conſcience, and to do unto every man (of what

what Judgment ſoever) as we would they ſhould do unto us, that as our practice is, ſo it may prove us to be a conſcionable, quiet, and harmleſs people (no ways dangerous or troubleſome to humane ſociety) and to labour and work with our hands that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Alſo we confeſs, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we deſire and ſeek to know; and if any ſhall do us that friendly part to ſhew us from the word of God that we ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God and them; but if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any thing that we ſee not to be commanded by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhould in his ſtrength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be ſtripp'd of all outward comforts, and if it were poſſible, to die a thouſand deaths, rather than to do any thing againſt the leaſt tittle of the truth of God, or againſt the light of our own conſciences. And if any ſhall call what we have ſaid hereſy, then do we with the Apoſtle acknowledge, that after the way they call hereſy, worſhip we the God of our fathers, diſclaiming all hereſies (right ſo called) becauſe they are againſt Chriſt, and to be ſtedfaſt and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Chriſt, as knowing our labour ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.

Pſal. lxxiv. 21, 22.

ARISE, O God, plead thine own cauſe; remember how the fooliſh man blaſphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppreſſed return aſhamed, but let the poor and needy praiſe thy name.

Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly.

NUMB.

NUMB. III.

A CONFESSION *of the* FAITH *of ſeveral congregations of Chriſt in the county of* Somerſet, *and ſome churches in the counties near adjacent. Printed at* London, Anno 1656.

I.

WE believe that there is but one God. 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. *But to us there is but one God,* who is immortal, eternal, inviſible, only wiſe: 1 *Tim.* i. 17. *Now unto the king, eternal, immortal, inviſible, only wiſe,* &c. Holy, *Lev.* xi. 44. *And ye ſhall be holy, for I am holy.* Almighty, *Gen.* xvii. 1. *I am the almighty God.* Infinite, 1 *Kings* viii. 27. *Behold the heaven, and heaven of heavens, are not able to contain thee.* Iſa. xl. 28. *There is no ſearching of his underſtanding.* Pſalm cxlvii. 5. *Great is our Lord, and of great power, his underſtanding is infinite.* A Spirit, *John* iv. 24. *God is a ſpirit.* Glorious in holineſs, *Exod.* xv. 11. *Who is like thee glorious in holineſs.* Juſt, merciful, gracious, long-ſuffering, abundant in mercy and truth, *Exod.* xxxiv. 6, 7. *The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth.* Faithful in all things, *Deut.* vii. 9. *The Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God.*

II.

II.

THAT this God, who is ſo in himſelf, did according to his own will in time, create all things, by, and for Jeſus Chriſt, *Heb.* i. 2. *By whom alſo he made the worlds.* Col. i. 16. *For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth,* &c. *All things were created by him and for him,* John ii. 3. Who is the word of God, *John* i. 1. *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God,* and upholds all things by the word of his power, *Heb.* i. 3.

III.

THAT God made man after his own image; *Gen.* i. 27. *So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.* In an eſtate of uprightneſs and human perfection; *Eccleſ.* vii. 29. *Lo this only have I found, that God hath made man upright.*

IV.

THAT God gave *Adam* a juſt law, requiring obedience under the penalty of death; *Gen.* ii. 17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die.* Which law he brake, and brought himſelf and his poſterity under the guilt and judgment denounced, *Gen.* iii. 6. *And when the woman ſaw that the tree was good for food,* &c. *ſhe took of the fruit thereof and did eat, who gave alſo unto her huſband with her, and he did eat.* Rom. v. 12. *Wherefore as by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin,*

ſin, and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned. Rom. v. 17, 18, 19. *For if by one man's offence death reigned by one* —— *Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation* —— *For as by one man's diſobedience many were made ſinners.*

V.

MAN being in this undone eſtate, God did in the riches of his mercy hold forth Chriſt in a promiſe; *Gen.* iii. 15. *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed, it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.*

VI.

THAT in proceſs of time God gave forth his laws by the hand of *Moſes*, Exod. xx. John i. 17. to fallen man, *Gal.* iii. 19. *The law it was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions*, not for juſtification to eternal life, *Gal.* iii. 17. *Rom.* iii. 20. *Therefore by the deeds of the law there ſhall no fleſh be juſtified in his ſight*, but that all might appear guilty before the Lord by it, *Rom.* iii. 19. *Now we know that what things ſoever the law ſaith, it ſaith to them that are under the law, that every mouth may be ſtopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.* Rom. v. 20. *Moreover, the law entered that the offence might abound.*

VII.

THAT out of this condition none of the ſons of *Adam* were able to deliver themſelves, *Rom.* viii. 3. *For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the fleſh.* Eph. ii. 1, 5.

ii. 1, 5. *And you hath he quickned, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, even when we were dead in ſins hath quickned us together with Chriſt, by grace ye are ſaved.* Rom. v. 6. *For when we were yet without ſtrength, Chriſt died for the ungodly.*

VIII.

THAT God continued and renewed the manifeſtation of his grace and mercy in Chriſt after the firſt promiſe made *Gen.* iii. in other promiſes, *Gen.* xxii. 18. with *Gen.* xii. 3. *Gal.* iii. 16. *And in thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed.* And in types, as the paſſover, *Exod.* xii. 8. *And they ſhall eat the fleſh in that night roaſt with fire, and unleavened bread.* And *ver.* 13. with 1 *Cor.* v. 7. *For even Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us.* And the brazen ſerpent, *Numb.* xxi. 9. *And* Moſes *made a ſerpent of braſs, and put it upon a pole, and it came to paſs that if a ſerpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the ſerpent of braſs he lived.* Compared with *John* iii. 14. *And as* Moſes *lifted up the ſerpent in the wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the ſon of man be lifted up.* With the miniſtry and miniſtration of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the ſacrifices, &c. being all figures of Chriſt, *Heb.* vii. 8. and *Chapter* ix. And in propheſies, as *Iſa.* ix. 6. *For unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder, and his name ſhall be called wonderful, counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the prince of Peace.* And, *Iſa.* xi. 1, 2. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of* Jeſſe, *and a branch ſhall grow out of his roots, and the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of*

wiſ-

wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. Isa. liii. 6, *All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Compar'd with 1 Pet. ii. 24. *Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.* With 1 Cor. xv. 3. *Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.*

IX.

THAT God in his son did freely, without respect to any work done, or to be done by them as a moving cause, elect and choose some to himself before the foundation of the world. *Eph.* i. 3, 4. *According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world.* 2 Tim. i. 9. *Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.* Whom he in time hath, doth, and will call, justify, sanctify and glorify. *Rom.* viii. 29, 30. *For whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate to be conformable to the image of his son, that he might be the first born among so many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified.*

X.

THAT those that were thus elected and chosen in Christ, were by nature [before conversion] children of wrath even as others. *Eph.* ii. 3. *Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh,*

fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. Rom. iii. 9. *What then? Are we better than they, no, in no wise, for we have before proved both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *that they are all under sin.*

XI.

THAT those that are chosen of God, called and justified, shall never finally fall from him, but being born from above are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. *John* vi. 39. *And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.* John x. 28. *And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.* John xi. 26. *And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.* 1 Pet. i. 5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.* Psalm lxxxix. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. *If his children forsake my laws, and walk not in my judgments. If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments, then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes. Nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail; my covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.* 1 John iii. 9. *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.* John xiv. 19. *Because I live ye shall live also.* Heb. xii. 2. *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.* Jer. xxxi. 3. *I have loved thee with an everlasting*

laſting love, therefore with loving kindneſs have I drawn thee. John x. 29. *My Father which gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.* Pſalm xxxvii. 28. *For the Lord loveth judgment, and forſaketh not his ſaints: They are preſerved for ever.* Jer. xxxii. 40. *And I will make an everlaſting covenant.* Rom. viii. 39. *Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.* 1 Cor. i. 8, 9. *Who ſhall alſo confirm you unto the end — God is faithful.* Rom. viii. 30. *Whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified. Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jeſus Chriſt.* Pſalm xlviii. 14. *For this God is our God for ever and ever, he will be our guide even to death.*

XII.

THAT when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, *Gal.* iv. 4, 5. according to the promiſes and propheſies of the ſcriptures; who was conceived in the womb of *Mary* the virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit of God, *Luke* i. 35. *Matt.* i. 20. And by her born in *Bethlehem*, Matt. ii. 11, Luke ii. 6, 7.

XIII.

WE believe that Jeſus Chriſt is truly God. *Iſa.* ix. 6. *His name ſhall be called the mighty God.* Heb. i. 8. *But unto the Son he ſaith, thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* Rom. ix. 5. *Who is over all God bleſſed for ever.* And truly man, of the ſeed of *David.* 1 Tim.

ii. 5. *There is one mediator between God and man, the man Chriſt Jeſus.* Acts xiii. 23. *Of this man's ſeed hath God, according to his promiſe, raiſed unto* Iſrael *a Saviour Jeſus.* Rom. i. 3. *Made of the ſeed of* David *according to the fleſh.*

XIV.

THAT after he came to be about thirty years of age, being baptized, he manifeſted himſelf to be the Son of God, *Luke* iii. 21, 23. with *John* ii. 7, 11. The promiſed Meſſiah, by doing ſuch works both in his life and in his death which were proper unto, and could be done by none but the Son of God, the true Meſſiah. *John* i. 49. *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of* Iſrael. *John* vi. 9, &c.

XV.

THAT this man Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered death under *Pilate*, at the requeſt of the *Jews*, Luke xxiii. 24. Bearing the ſins of his people on his own body on the croſs. 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. *Who his own ſelf bare our ſins on his own body on the tree*, according to the will of God. *Iſa.* liii. 6. *The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Being made ſin for us; 2 *Cor.* v. 11. *For he hath made him to be ſin for us.* And ſo was alſo made a curſe for us, *Gal.* iii. 13, 14. *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for us.* 1 Pet. iii. 18. *For Chriſt alſo hath once ſuffered for ſin*, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. 2 *Cor.* v. 11. And by his death upon the croſs, he hath obtained eternal redemption and deliverance for his church.

Col.

Col. i. 14. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveneſs of ſin.* Eph. i. 7. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace.* Acts xx. 28. *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Heb. ix. 12. *By his own blood he enter'd in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. *For as much as ye know ye were not redeemed with corruptible things,* &c. *but with the precious blood of Chriſt, as of a lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot.*

XVI.

THAT this ſame Jeſus having thus ſuffered death for our ſins, was buried. *Matth.* xxvii. 59, 60. *And when* Joſeph *had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewen out of the rock, and he rolled a great ſtone to the door of the ſepulchre and departed.* And was alſo raiſed by the power of God. *Eph.* i. 19. *And what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Chriſt when he raiſed him from the dead,* the third day according to the ſcriptures. 1 *Cor.* xv. 3, 4. *For I delivered unto you firſt of all that which I alſo received, how that Chriſt died for our ſins according to the ſcriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day according to the ſcriptures.* For our juſtification. *Rom.* iv. 25. *Who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our juſtification.*

XVII.

THAT after he had been ſeen forty days upon the earth, manifeſting himſelf to his diſciples. *Acts* i. 3. *To whom alſo he ſhewed himſelf alive after his paſſion by many infallible proofs, being ſeen of them forty days.* He aſcended into the heavens. *Acts* i. 9, 10, 11. *And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight: And while they looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, as he went up,* &c. *Heb.* iv. 14. *Seeing then that we have a great high-prieſt that is paſſed into the heavens, Jeſus the Son of God.* And is ſet on the right hand of the throne of God. *Heb.* viii. 1. *We have ſuch an high-prieſt, who is ſet on the right hand of the throne of the majeſty in the heavens.* Heb. i. 3. *When he had by himſelf purged our ſin, ſat down at the right hand of the Majeſty on high.* Whom the heavens muſt receive until the time of the Reſtitution of all things. *Acts* iii. 21. *Whom the heavens muſt receive, until the times of the reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets ſince the world began.*

XVIII.

THAT the Father having thus exalted him, and given him a name above every name. *Phil.* ii. 9. *Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name.* And hath made him who is mediator, 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. Prieſt. *Heb.* x. 21. *And having an high-prieſt over the houſe of God.* Heb. viii. 1. *We have ſuch an high-prieſt.* Prophet. Acts iii. 22. *A prophet ſhall the Lord*

Lord your God raiſe up unto you of your brethren, &c. And king to his people. Pſalm ii. 6. *Yet have I ſet my king upon my holy hill of* Zion. *Rev.* xv. 3. *Thou king of ſaints.* As he is our prieſt, ſo is he our peace and reconciliation. *Eph.* ii. 14, 15. *For he is our peace*, Rom. v. 9, 10. *For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his ſon, much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life*, &c. And being enter'd into the holy place, even heaven it ſelf, there to appear in the preſence of God, *Heb.* ix. 24. Making continual interceſſion for us. *Heb.* vii. 24, 25. *But this man becauſe he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable prieſthood; wherefore he is able alſo to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them.* He is become our advocate. 1 *John* ii. 1. *We have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous.* By whom we have boldneſs and acceſs unto the throne of grace with acceptance. *Heb.* x. 19. *Having therefore, brethren, boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the blood of Jeſus.* Eph. iii. 12. *In whom we have boldneſs and acceſs with confidence, by the faith of him.* Heb. iv. 16. *Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace*, &c. As he is our prophet, ſo he hath given us the ſcriptures, the Old and New Teſtament, as a rule and direction unto us both for faith and practice. *John* v. 39. *Search the ſcriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which teſtify of me.* 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, 12. 2 *Tim.* iii. 16. *All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs*, &c. 1 *Pet.* x. 20, 21.

We have also a more sure word of prophesy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place —— *Knowing this first, that no prophesy of the scriptures is of any private interpretation. For the prophesy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.* Eph. ii. 20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* 1 Cor. xiv. 37. *If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.* Tit. i. 2, 3. *In hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lye promised before the world began, but hath in due time manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me, according to the commandment of God our Saviour.* And that he hath sent, doth and will (according to his promise) send his Holy Spirit the Comforter, by whom he leadeth us into all truth. *John* xiv. 26. *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things,* &c. John xvi. 13. *Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth.* And by his continual presence with us, and in us. *John* xiv. 16, 17. *And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth,* &c. *He dwelleth with you and shall be in you,* teaching, opening and revealing the mysteries of the kingdom, and will of God unto us. 1 *Cor.* ii. 10, 11, 12, 13. *But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God;*

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for what man knoweth the things of a man ſave the ſpirit of man which is in him. Even ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God; now we have received not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God, which things alſo we ſpeak, not in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth. Rev. ii. 29. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit ſaith to the churches.* Rev. v. 5. *And one of the elders ſaid unto me, weep not, behold the lion of the tribe of* Judah, *the root of* David, *hath prevailed, to open the book, and to looſe the ſeven ſeals thereof.* Giving gifts in his church for the work of the miniſtry, and edifying the body of Chriſt. *Eph.* iv. 8, 12. *Wherefore he ſaith, when he aſcended up on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men —— For the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt.* 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. *Now there are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit, and there are differences of adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord, and there are diverſities of operations, but it is the ſame God which worketh all in all*; that through the powerful teachings of the Lord, by his Spirit in his church, they might grow up in him. *Eph.* iv. 15. be conformed to his will. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 27. *And I will put my Spirit within you, and cauſe you to walk in my ſtatutes, and ye ſhall keep my judgments and do them.* 1 Pet. i. 2. *Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through ſanctification of the Spirit unto obedience.* And ſing praiſes unto his name. *Heb.* ii. 12. *I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midſt of the church will*

I ſing praiſe unto thee. 1 Cor. xiv. 15. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo; I will ſing with the Spirit, and will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* And as he is our prophet, and king, lord, and law-giver. *Iſa.* xxxiii. 22. *For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king.* Iſa. lv. 4. *Behold I have given him for a witneſs to the people, a leader and commander to the people.* Prince of life. *Acts* iii. 15. *And killed the prince of life, whom God hath raiſed from the dead.* Prince of peace, *Iſa.* ix. 6. Maſter of his people. *Matt.* xxiii. 8. *One is your maſter even Chriſt.* Head of his church. *Col.* i. 18. *And he is the head of the body the church.* The Almighty, *Rev.* i. 8. So he hath given rules unto us, by the which he ruleth over us. *Luke* vi. 46. *And why call ye me Lord, and do not the things which I ſay.* John x. 16. *And other ſheep I have, which are not of this fold, them alſo I muſt bring, and they ſhall hear my voice.* 1 John ii. 4. *He that ſaith I know him, and keepeth not my commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* John xiv. 15. *If ye love me keep my commandments.* Matt. 28. 20. *Teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.* And ruleth over all things for his church. *Eph.* i. 22. *And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church.* Rev. xix. 16. And by the power of love ruleth by his Spirit in us. 2 *Cor.* v. 14. *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us.* 1 John ii. 5. *But whoſo keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected.* Making us (in a meaſure) both able and willing to honour him. *Phil.* iv. 13. *I*

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can do all things through Chriſt that ſtrengtheneth me. Heb. xiii. 21. *Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt.* Eph. vi. 10. *Finally, my brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.* Phil. ii. 13. *For it is God which worketh in you both to will, and to do of his good pleaſure.* And bow before him, *Pſal.* xcv. 6. *O come, let us worſhip and bow down.* Pſal. cx. 3. *Thy people ſhall be a willing people in the day of thy power.* Rev. iv. 10, 11. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that ſat on the throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever and ever, and caſt their crowns before the throne, ſaying; thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power.* Submitting our ſelves to him alone in all his commands with joy. *John* xv. 14. *Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you.* Rev. xiv. 4. *Theſe are they which follow the lamb whitherſoever he goeth.* Rev. vii. 15. *Therefore are they before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple.* Pſal. cxix. 2, 47. *Bleſſed are they that keep his teſtimonies, and that ſeek him with the whole heart —— And I will delight my ſelf in thy commandments which I have loved.* Rev. xv. 3, 4. *And they ſung the ſong of* Moſes *the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the lamb, who ſhall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art worthy.*

XIX.

THAT the Spirit is adminiſtred by or through the word of faith preached. *Gal.* iii. 2. *This only would I learn of you? Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hear-*

hearing of faith. Which word was firſt declared by the Lord himſelf, and was confirm'd by them that heard him. *Heb.* ii. 3. *How ſhall we eſcape if we neglect ſo great ſalvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.* Which word is called the goſpel of God's grace, *Acts* xx. 24. The word of reconciliation, 2 *Cor.* v. 19. The ſword of the Spirit, *Eph.* vi. 17. The weapon of a Chriſtian, 2 *Cor.* x. 4. A faithful, *Rev.* xxii. 6. Quick, powerful, *Heb.* iv. 12. Plain, *Prov.* viii. 9. Comfortable, *Rom.* xv. 4. Pure, *Pſal.* xii. 6. Right, true, *Pſal.* xxxiii. 4. Sound, *Tit.* ii. 8. And wholeſome word, 1 *Tim.* vi. 3.

XX.

That this ſpirit of Chriſt, being adminiſter'd by the word of faith, worketh in us faith in Chriſt, *John* iii. 5. 1 *Pet.* i. 22. *Seeing ye have purified your ſouls in obeying the truth through the Spirit.* Acts xvi. 14. Gal. v. 22. *The fruit of the Spirit is faith,* &c. *whoſe heart the Lord opened, that ſhe attended unto the things which were ſpoken of* Paul. By virtue of which we come to receive our ſonſhip. *John* i. 12. *But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the ſons of God, even to them that believe on his name.* Gal. iii. 26. *For ye are all the children of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus.* And is further adminiſter'd unto us through faith in the promiſes of God. *Eph.* i. 13. *Alſo after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe.* Acts ii. 38, 39. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt,*

Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. Acts i. 4. *And being aſſembled together with them, commanded them that they ſhould not depart from* Jeruſalem, *but wait for the promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me.* Waiting on him in thoſe ways and means that he hath appointed in his word. *John* xiv. 15, 16, 17. *If ye love me keep my commandments, and I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.* Luke xi. 9, 13. *And I ſay unto you ask and it ſhall be given unto you, ſeek and ye ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you —— If ye being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more ſhall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.* This faith being the ground of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not ſeen, *Heb.* xi. 1.

XXI.

THAT juſtification is God's accounting and declaring that man juſtified from the guilt and condemnation of all his ſin, who hath received Jeſus Chriſt and doth believe in him (in truth and power) according to the record given of him by God in ſcripture. *Rom.* iv. 5. *But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteouſneſs.* 1 John v. 10, 11. *He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witneſs in himſelf: He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, becauſe he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. But this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son,* Joh. iii. 36.

XXII.

XXII.

THAT juſtification from the guilt and condemnation of ſin is only obtained through faith in that man Jeſus Chriſt, crucified at *Jeruſalem*, and by God raiſed from the dead. *Rom.* v. 1, 9. *Therefore being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Much more being now juſtified by his blood we ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him.* Acts xiii. 38, 39. Rom. iv. 25. *Who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our juſtification.* And, *Chap.* x. 9. *That if thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raiſed him from the dead thou ſhalt be ſaved.* And that thoſe who bring in any other way of juſtification, do therein make void, and acquit themſelves of having any intereſt in the goſpel and grace of Chriſt. *Gal.* ii. 21. and v. 4. *Whoſoever of you is juſtified by the law, is fallen from grace.*

XXIII.

THAT this faith being wrought in truth and power, it doth not only intereſt us in our juſtification, ſonſhip, and glory, but it produceth as effects and fruits, a conformity, in a meaſure, to the Lord Jeſus, in his will, graces and virtues. *Rom.* v. 3, 4. *And not only ſo, but we glory in tribulations alſo, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope.* 1 John iii. 23, 24. *And this is his commandment, that we ſhould believe on the name of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another, as he gave us*

us commandment, and he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him, and hereby we know that he abideth in us by the ſpirit which he hath given us. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. *And beſides this giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs brotherly kindneſs, and to brotherly kindneſs charity.* Gal. v. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 Theſ. i. 3.

XXIV.

THAT it is the duty of every man and woman, that have repented from dead works, and have faith towards God, to be baptized. *Acts* ii. 38. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins.* Acts viii. 12, 37, 38. *But when they believed* Philip *preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jeſus Chriſt, they were baptized both men and women* —— *And* Philip *ſaid, if thou believeſt with all thine heart, thou mayeſt, and he commanded the chariot to ſtand ſtill, and they went down both into the water, both* Philip *and the Eunuch, and he baptized him:* That is, dipped or buried under the water. *Rom.* vi. 3, 4. *Know ye not, that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death, therefore we are buried with him by baptiſm into death.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm.* In the name of our Lord Jeſus. *Acts* viii. 16. *Only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus.* Or in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Spirit. *Matt.* xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; therein to ſignify and repreſent a waſhing away of ſin. *Acts* xxii. 16. *Ariſe and be baptized and waſh away thy ſins.* And their death, burial, and reſurrection with Chriſt. *Rom.* vi. 5. *For if we have been planted together in the likeneſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm, wherein alſo you are riſen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raiſed him from the dead.* And being thus planted in the viſible church or body of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* xii. 3. who are a company of men and women ſeparated out of the world by the preaching of the goſpel. *Acts* ii. 41. *Then they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the ſame day there were added unto them about three thouſand ſouls.* 2 Cor. vi. 17. *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord.* Do walk together in communion in all the commandments of Jeſus. *Acts* ii. 42. *And they continued ſtedfaſtly in the apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* Wherein God is glorified, and their ſouls comforted. 2 *Theſ.* i. 11, 12. *Wherefore we alſo pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil the good pleaſure of his goodneſs, and the work of faith with power, that the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt may be glorified in you.* 2 Cor. i. 4. *Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble by the comfort*

fort wherewith we our ſelves are comforted.

XXV.

THAT we believe ſome of thoſe commandments further to be as followeth.

1. CONSTANCY in prayer, *Col.* ii. 23, 24.

2. BREAKING of bread, 1 *Cor.* xi. 23, 24.

3. GIVING of thanks, *Eph.* v. 20.

4. WATCHING over one another, *Heb.* xii. 15.

5. CARING one for another, 1 *Cor.* xii. 25. by viſiting one another, eſpecially in ſickneſs and temptations, *Matt.* xxv. 36.

6. EXHORTING one another, *Heb.* iii. 13.

7. DISCOVERING to each other, and bearing one another's burdens, *Gal.* vi. 2.

8. LOVING one another, *Heb.* xiii. 1.

9. REPROVING when need is one another, *Matt.* xviii. 15.

10. SUBMITTING one to another in the Lord, 1 *Pet.* v. 5.

11. ADMINISTRING one to another according to the gift received, whether it be in ſpirituals, or temporals, 1 *Pet.* iv. 10.

12. THE offender to ſeek reconciliation, as well as the offended, *Matt.* v. 23, 24.

13. LOVE our enemies and perſecutors, and pray for them, *Matt.* v. 44.

14. EVERY one to work if he be able, and none to be idle, 2 *Theſ.* iii. 10, 11, 12.

15. THE women in the church to learn in ſilence, and in all ſubjection, 1 *Tim.* ii. 11. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 37.

16. PRIVATE admonition to a brother offending another; and if not prevailing, to take one or two more; if he hear not them,

then to tell it to the church; and if he hear not them, to be accounted as an heathen and publican, *Matt.* xviii. 15.

17. PUBLICK rebuke to publick offenders, 1 *Tim.* v. 20.

18. THE brethren in miniſtring forth their gifts, ought to do it decently and in order, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 31, 40.

19. A SPECIAL care to aſſemble together, that their duty to God, and the church, may not be neglected, *Heb.* x. 24, 25.

20. AND all things in the church, done in the name and power of the head, the Lord Chriſt Jeſus, *Col.* iii. 17.

21. THAT in admitting of members into the church of Chriſt, it is the duty of the church, and miniſters whom it concerns, in faithfulneſs to God, that they be careful they receive none but ſuch as do make forth evident demonſtration of the new birth, and the work of faith with power. *John* iii. 3. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God.* Matt. iii. 8, 9. *Bring forth therefore fruits worthy amendment of life.* Acts viii. 37. *And* Philip *ſaid, if thou believeſt with all thy heart, thou mayeſt.* Ezek. xliv. 6, 7. *Let it ſuffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my ſanctuary, ſtrangers uncircumciſed in heart, and uncircumciſed in fleſh, to be in my ſanctuary to pollute it.* Acts ii. 38. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.* 2 Cor. ix. 14. *Be ye not unequally yoked together with the unbelievers, for what fellowſhip hath righ-*

teouſneſs

teouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs; and what communion hath light with darkneſs. Pſal. xxvi. 4, 5. *I have not ſat with vain perſons, neither will I go in with diſſemblers: I have hated the congregation of evil-doers, and will not ſit with the wicked.* Pſalm ci. 7. *He that worketh deceit, ſhall not dwell within mine houſe.*

XXVI.

THAT thoſe that truly repent, and believe, and are baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus, are in a fit capacity to exerciſe faith, in full aſſurance to receive a greater meaſure of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. *Acts* ii. 38, 39. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit; for the promiſe is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God ſhall call.* Eph. i. 13. *In whom ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the goſpel of your ſalvation, in whom alſo after ye believed ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe.*

Sic Origin.

XXVIII.

THAT it is the duty of the members of Chriſt in the order of the goſpel, tho' in ſeveral congregations and aſſemblies (being one in the head) if occaſion be, to communicate each to other, in things ſpiritual, and things temporal. *Rom.* xv. 26. *For it hath pleaſed them of* Macedonia, *and* Achaia, *to make a certain contribution for the poor ſaints which*

are at Jeruſalem. *Acts* xi. 29. *Then the diſciples every man according to his ability determined to ſend relief unto the brethren which dwelt in* Judea. *Acts* xv. 22. *Then pleaſed it the apoſtles and elders, with the whole church, to ſend choſen men of their own company to* Antioch, *with* Paul *and* Barnabas, *namely* Judas *ſirnamed* Barſabas, *and* Silas *chief among the brethren.* Acts xi. 22. *Then tidings of theſe things came to the ears of the church which was in* Jeruſalem, *and they ſent forth* Barnabas, *that he ſhould go as far as* Antioch.

XXIX.

THAT the Lord Chriſt Jeſus being the foundation and corner ſtone of the goſpel church whereon his apoſtles built. *Eph.* ii. 20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone.* Heb. iii. 3. He gave them power and abilities to propagate, to plant, to rule and order. *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. *All power is given me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore, and teach all nations* in his name. *Luke* x. 16. *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me.* For the benefit of that his body, by which miniſtry he did ſhew forth the exceeding riches of his grace, by his kindneſs towards it in the ages to come, *Eph.* ii. 7. which is according to his promiſe. *Matt.* xxviii. 20. *And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

XXX.

XXX.

THAT this foundation and miniſtration aforeſaid, is a ſure guide, rule and direction, in the darkeſt time of the anti-chriſtian apoſtacy, or ſpiritual *Babyloniſh* captivity, to direct, inform, and reſtore us in our juſt freedom and liberty, to the right worſhip and order belonging to the church of Jeſus Chriſt. 1 *Tim.* iii. 14, 15. *Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayeſt know how thou oughteſt to behave thy ſelf in the houſe of God.* 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. *All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works.* John xvii. 20. *Neither pray I for theſe alone, but for them alſo which ſhall believe on me through their word.* Iſa. lix. 21. *As for me, this is my covenant with them, ſaith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeeds ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* Rev. ii. 24. *But that which ye have already, hold faſt till I come.* Iſa. xl. 21. *Have ye not known? Have ye not heard? Hath it not been told you from the beginning? Have ye not underſtood?* Rev. ii. 5. *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works.* 1 Cor. xiv. 37. *If any man think himſelf to be a prophet, or ſpiritual; let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the command-*

ments of the Lord. Rev. i. 3. *Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this propheſy.* 2 Theſ. iii. 14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epiſtle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be aſhamed.* Rev. ii. 11. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit ſaith to the churches.* 1 Pet. i. 25. *But the word of the Lord endureth for ever, and this is the word which by the goſpel is preached unto you.* 1 John iv. 6. *We are of God, he that knoweth God heareth us: Hereby know we the ſpirit of truth, and the ſpirit of error.* 2 Pet. i. 15, 16. *Moreover I will endeavour that you may be able after my deceaſe, to have theſe things always in remembrance, for we have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty.* Iſa. lviii. 11, 12. *And they that ſhall be of thee, ſhall build the old waſte places, thou ſhalt raiſe up the foundations of many generations: And thou ſhalt be called the repairer of the breach, the reſtorer of paths to dwell in.* 2 Pet. iii. 2. *That ye may be mindful of the words which were ſpoken by the holy prophets, and of the commandments of us, the apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.* Iſa. viii. 20.

XXXI.

THAT the church of Jeſus Chriſt with its miniſtry may from among themſelves, make choice of ſuch members, as are fitly gifted and qualified by Chriſt, and approve and ordain ſuch by faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands. *Acts* xiii. 3. *And when they had faſted and prayed, and laid their hands on them.* Acts xiv. 23. *And when they had ordained*

dained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed. For the performance of the several duties, whereunto they are called, *Acts* xx. 28. *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8. 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. *Acts* vi. 3. *Wherefore brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.*

XXXII.

That such a ministry labouring in the word and doctrine, have a power to receive a livelihood of their brethren, whose duty it is to provide a comfortable subsistance for them, if they be able, to whom for Christ's sake they are servants. 1 *Cor.* ix. 4, 7. 1 *Tim.* v. 17, 18. *Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine; for the scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn: And the labourer is worthy of his hire.* Yet it is commendable in cases of necessity, for them, for example sake, and that they may be able to support the weak, to labour and work with their hands. *Acts* xx. 24, 25. *Ye your selves know that these hands have ministred unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive.*

XXXIII.

THAT the authority of Chriſt in an orderly miniſtry in his church, is to be ſubmitted unto. *Heb.* xiii. 17. *Obey them that have rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your ſouls.* 2 Theſ. iii. 14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epiſtle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be aſhamed.*

XXXIV.

THAT as it is an ordinance of Chriſt, ſo it is the duty of his church in his authority, to ſend forth ſuch brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the Spirit of Chriſt to preach the goſpel to the world. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3. *The Holy Spirit ſaid, ſeparate me* Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the work whereunto I have called them, and when they had faſted and prayed, they ſent them away.* Acts xi. 22. *and* viii. 14.

XXXV.

THAT it is the duty of us believing *Gentiles*, not to be ignorant of that blindneſs that yet lieth on *Iſrael*, that none of us may boaſt. *Rom.* xi. 25. *For I would not, brethren, that you ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, leſt you ſhould be wiſe in your own conceit, that blindneſs in part is happened to* Iſrael, *until the fulneſs of the* Gentiles *be come in.* But to have bowels of love and compaſſion to them, praying for them. *Rom.* x. 1. *Brethren, my hearts deſire and prayer to God for* Iſrael *is, that they might be ſaved.* Expecting their calling, and ſo much the rather, be-

cauſe

cauſe their converſion will be to us life from the dead. *Rom.* xi. 15. *For if the caſting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what ſhall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead.*

XXXVI.

THAT it is the will of the Lord, and it is given to the ſaints not only to believe in him, but to ſuffer for his name. *John* xvi. 13. *In the world ye ſhall have tribulation.* Phil. i. 26. *For unto you it is given in behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe on him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake.* And ſo to paſs through many tribulations into the kingdom of God. *Acts* xiv. 22. *Confirming the ſouls of the diſciples, and exhorting to continue in the faith, and that we muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* 2 Tim. iii. 12. *Yea, and all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* 2 Tim. ii. 12. *If we ſuffer we ſhall alſo reign with him; if we deny him, he will alſo deny us.*

XXXVII.

THAT the angels of the Lord are miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth for the good of thoſe that ſhall be the heirs of ſalvation. *Heb.* i. 14. *Are they not all miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation.* Pſal. xci. 11, 12. *For he ſhall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, they ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.* Acts xxvii. 23. *For there ſtood by me this night, the angel of God, whoſe I am, and whom I ſerve, ſaying, fear not* Paul. Luke xxii. 43. *And*

there appeared unto him an angel from heaven ſtrengthening him.

XXXVIII.

THAT the wicked angels. *Pſal.* lxxviii. 49. *He caſt upon them the fierceneſs of his anger, wrath and indignation, and trouble, by ſending evil angels among them.* Kept not their firſt eſtate in which they were created. *Jude* 6. *And the angels which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains.* The prince of whom is called the devil. *Matt.* viii. 28. *And when he was come to the other ſide into the country of the* Gergeſenes *there met him two poſſeſſed with devils.* And the great dragon, and the old ſerpent, and ſatan. *Rev.* xii. 9. *And the great dragon was caſt out, that old ſerpent called the devil, and ſatan.* And the accuſer of our brethren, *Rev.* xii. 10. *And I heard a loud voice in heaven, ſaying, now is come ſalvation, for the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down.* And the prince of this world. *John* xiv. 30. *Hereafter I will not talk much with you, for the prince of this world cometh.* And a prince that ruleth in the air. A ſpirit working in the children of diſobedience. *Eph.* ii. 2. *Wherein in times paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience.* And our adverſary. 1 *Pet.* v. 8. *Be ſober, be vigilant, becauſe your adverſary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour.* Whoſe children the wicked are. *Matt.* xiii. 39. John viii. 44. *The tares are the children of the wicked one, the enemy that ſowed them is the devil.* To him

we

we ought not to give place, *Eph.* iv. 27. Whoſe power Chriſt hath overcome for us. *Heb.* ii. 14. *For as much then as the children are partakers of fleſh and blood, he alſo himſelf likewiſe took part of the ſame, that through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil.* And for him and his angels everlaſting fire is prepared. *Matt.* xxv. 41. *Then ſhall he ſay unto them on the left hand, depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.*

XXXIX.

THAT it is our aſſured expectation, grounded upon promiſes, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall the ſecond time appear without ſin unto ſalvation, unto his people, to raiſe and change the vile bodies of all his ſaints, to faſhion them like unto his glorious body, and ſo to reign with him, and judge over all nations on the earth in power and glory. *Phil.* iii. 20, 21. *For our converſation is in heaven, from whence alſo we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to ſubdue all things unto himſelf.* Heb. ix. 28. *And unto them that look for him ſhall he appear the ſecond time without ſin unto ſalvation.* Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. *That your ſins may be blotted out, when the time of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord. And he ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt, which before was preached unto you, whom the heaven muſt receive until the times of reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets ſince the world began.*

Matt.

Matt. xix. 28. *And Jeſus ſaid unto them, verily I ſay unto you, that ye that have followed me in the regeneration, when the ſon of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory, ye ſhall alſo ſit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of* Iſrael. *Rev.* ii. 26, 27. *And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron, as the veſſels of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers, even as I received of my Father.* 1 Cor. vi. 2. *Do ye not know that the ſaints ſhall judge the world.* Pſal. lxxii. 8, 11. *He ſhall have dominion alſo from ſea to ſea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth; yea, all kings ſhall fall down before him, all nations ſhall ſerve him.* Dan. vii. 27. *And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt high: Whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him,* Zach. xiv. 9. *And the Lord ſhall be king over all the earth. In that day ſhall there be one Lord, and his name one.* Pſal. ii. 8, 9. *Aſk of me and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt part of the earth for thy poſſeſſion; thou ſhalt break them with a rod of iron; thou ſhalt daſh them in peices like a potters veſſel.* Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. *Behold the day is come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous branch, and a king ſhall reign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth. In his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell ſafely: And this is his name whereby he ſhall be called, The Lord our righteouſneſs.* Ezek. xxi. 26, 27. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, remove the diadem and take*

off

off the crown, this ſhall not be the ſame; exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high; I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it ſhall be no more until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him. Iſa. xxxii. 1. *Behold a king ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and princes ſhall rule in judgment.* Rev. xi. 15. *And the ſeventh angel ſounded, and there were great voices in heaven ſaying, the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.* Pſal. lxxxii. 8. *Ariſe, O God, judge the earth, for thou ſhalt inherit all nations.* Rev. v. 9, 10. *And they ſung a new ſong, ſaying, thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the ſeals thereof, for thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation, and haſt made us unto our God kings and prieſts, and we ſhall reign on the earth.* Rev. xx. 6. *Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection, on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power, but they ſhall be prieſts of God, and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.*

XL.

THAT there is a day appointed, when the Lord ſhall raiſe the unjuſt as well as the righteous, and judge them all in righteouſneſs. *John* v. 28, 29. *Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves ſhall hear his voice, and ſhall come forth, they that have done good, unto the reſurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the reſurrection of damnation.* Acts xxiv. 15. *And have hope towards God, which they themſelves alſo allow, that there ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead, both of the juſt and unjuſt.*

(But

(But every man in his own order.) 1 *Cor.* xv. 23. 1 *Theſ.* iv. 16. Taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe puniſhment will be everlaſting deſtruction from the preſence of the Lord. 2 *Theſ.* i. 7, 8, 9, 10. *Jude* 14, 15. *And* Enoch *alſo, the ſeventh from* Adam, *propheſied of theſe, ſaying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his ſaints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt him.* Rev. xx. 11, 12, 13, 14. *And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſat on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I ſaw the dead ſmall and great ſtand before God, and the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the book of life, and the dead were judged of thoſe things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the ſea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works, and death and hell were caſt into the lake of fire; this is the ſecond death, and whoſoever was not found written in the book of life was caſt into the lake of fire.*

XLI.

That there is a place into which the Lord will gather all his elect, to enjoy him for ever, uſually in ſcripture called heaven. 2 *Cor.* v. 1. *For we know, that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were, diſſolved we have a build-*

building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. John xiv. 2, 3. *In my father's houſe are many manſions; if it were not ſo I would have told you; I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my ſelf, that where I am there ye may be alſo.*

XLII.

THAT there is a place into which the Lord will caſt the devil, his angels and wicked men, to be tormented for ever, from his preſence and the glory of his power, uſually in ſcripture called hell. *Mark* ix. 43, 44, 45. *And if thy hand offend thee cut it off, it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go to hell, into the fire that never ſhall be quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee cut it off, it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be caſt into hell, into the fire that ſhall never be quenched.* Pſalm ix. 17. *The wicked ſhall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.* Matt. xxv. 41. *Then ſhall he ſay alſo to them on the left hand, depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* Matt. x. 28. *And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him, which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell.* Matt. xxiii. 33. *Ye ſerpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye eſcape the damnation of hell.* Luke x. 15. *And thou* Capernaum, *which art exalted to heaven, ſhalt be thruſt down*

down to hell. Luke xvi. 23. *And in hell he lift up his eyes being in torment.*

XLIII.

THAT it is both the duty and privilege of the church of Chriſt (till his coming again) in their fellowſhip together in the ordinances of Chriſt, to enjoy, prize, and preſs after, fellowſhip through and in the Spirit with the Lord, and each with other. *Acts* ii. 42. *And they continued ſtedfaſtly in the apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* 1 Cor. xi. 26. *For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew the Lord's death till he come.* Eph. ii. 21, 22. *In whom all the building fitly framed, groweth unto an holy temple, in whom alſo ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* Eph. iv. 3, 4, 5, 6. *Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one ſpirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, and one baptiſm, one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.* 1 Cor. xii. 13. *For by one ſpirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be* Jews *or* Gentiles, *whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one ſpirit. Now ye are the body of Chriſt and members in particular.* Eph. iii. 9. *And to make all men ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt.* Col. ii. 2. *That their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto the riches of the full aſſurance of underſtanding,*

derſtanding, to the acknowledgment of the myſtery of God, and of the Father, and of Chriſt. Which we believe to be attained through the exerciſe of faith, in the death, reſurrection, and life of Chriſt, 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, 16. *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us, becauſe we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead, that they which live ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him which died for them, and roſe again, wherefore henceforth know we no man after the fleſh, yea though we have known Chriſt after the fleſh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm, wherein ye alſo are riſen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raiſed him from the dead.* Phil. iii. 9, 10, 11. *And be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God by faith, that I may know him and the power of his reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the reſurrection of the dead.* 1 Pet. ii. 5. *Ye alſo as lively ſtones, are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.*

XLIV.

THAT the miniſtry of civil juſtice (being for the praiſe of them that do well, and puniſhment of evil-doers) is an ordinance of God, and that it is the duty of the ſaints to be ſubject thereunto not only for fear, but for conſcience ſake. *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Let every*

every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God, whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation, for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame, for he is the miniſter of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the ſword in vain, for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* And that for ſuch, prayers and ſupplications are to be made by the ſaints. 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that firſt of all, ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.*

XLV.

THAT nothing doth come to paſs by fortune or chance, but all things are diſpoſed by the hand of God, and all for good to his people. *Gen.* xlv. 5. *Now therefore be not grieved nor angry with your ſelves, that ye ſold me hither, for God did ſend me before you*

to preſerve Life, Gen. l. 20. *But as for you, ye thought evil againſt me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to paſs as it is this day, to ſave much people alive*, Rom. viii. 28. *And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called, according to his purpoſe*, Eph. i. 11. *In whom alſo we have obtained an inheritance, being predeſtinated according to the purpoſe of him, who worketh all things after the counſel of his own will*, Job xiv. 5. *Are not his days determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou haſt appointed his bounds which he cannot paſs*, Iſa. iv. 5, 7. *I form the light, and create darkneſs; I make peace and create evil; I the Lord doth all theſe things.*

XLVI.

And that a church ſo believing, and ſo walking, though deſpiſed, and of low eſteem, is no leſs in the account of her Lord and King, than though

Black, yet comely, *Cant.* i. 5.
Fairest, without ſpot, *Cant.* iv. 7.
Precious, *Iſa.* xliii. 4.
Beautiful, *Cant.* vii. 1.
Holy, without blemiſh, *Eph.* v. 27.
Pleasant, *Cant.* i. 15.
Whose ſoul loveth Chriſt, *Cant.* i. 7.
Runners after Chriſt, *Cant.* i. 4.
Honourable, *Iſa.* xliii. 4.
The deſire of Chriſt, *Cant.* vii. 10.
Compleat in Chriſt, *Col.* ii. 10.
Lovers of the Father, *John* xvi. 27.
The bleſſed of the Father, *Matt.* xxv. 34.
Kept by the Lord, 1 *Pet.* i. 5. *Iſa.* xxvii. 3.

GRAVEN on the palms of his hands, *Isa.* xlix. 16.

TENDER to the Lord as the apple of his eye, *Zach.* ii. 8.

TAUGHT of the Lord, *Isa.* liv. 13.

ONE that hath obtained mercy, 1 *Pet.* ii. 10.

ONE that hath a redemption, *Eph.* i. 7.

THE gates of hell shall not prevail against it, *Matt.* xvi. 18.

IN *that church be glory unto God by Jesus Christ, throughout all ages, world without end.* Amen. *Eph.* iii. 21.

NUMB. IV.

Some parts of a CONFESSION *of* FAITH, *published by certain persons, termed Anabaptists, about the Year* 1611.

THOUGH the Confession of Faith published by seven congregations in *London*, in the year 1644. appears to have been the first that has been put forth by the Calvinistical Baptists; yet there were some who, for their rejecting infant-baptism, were called Anabaptists, that, long before this, published, in certain conclusions, the articles of their Faith. They appear to be such as rejected the grosser errors charged on the Anabaptists, but retained some of the *Arminian* Doctrines.

It came out in the reign of King *James* I. about the year 1611; and in 1614 Mr. *Robinſon*, paſtor of the *Engliſh* church at *Leyden*, printed ſome remarks upon it, and ſays it was publiſhed by the remainder of Mr. *Smith*'s company. We have none of its articles but from him: and he has pick'd out all thoſe paſſages, which to him appeared either dark or erroneous; and ſays of the reſt, he found it agreeable to the ſcriptures, ſo that what we have is only the worſt parts of it.

Concluſion 7. THAT to underſtand and conceive of God in the mind, is not the ſaving knowledge of God; but to be like to God in his effects and properties, to be made conformable to his divine and heavenly attributes, this is the true ſaving knowledge of God, whereunto we ought to give all diligence. 2 Cor. iii. 18. Mat. v. 48. 2 Pet. i. 4.

9. THAT God, before the foundation of the world, did foreſee and determine the iſſue and event of all his works. Acts xv. 8.

10. THAT God is not the author or worker of ſin; though he did foreſee and determine what evil the free will of men and angels would do; yet he gives no influence, inſtinct, motion or inclination to the leaſt ſin.

16. THAT *Adam* died the ſame day that he ſinned; for that the reward of ſin is death: and that his death was loſs of innocency, peace of conſcience, and comfortable preſence. Gen. ii. 17. Rom. vi. 13.

17. THAT *Adam* being fallen, did not loſe any natural power or faculty, which God created in his ſoul; becauſe the work of the Devil, which is ſin, cannot aboliſh God's works Gen. iii. 23, 24.

works and creatures; and therefore being falleh, he ſtill retained freedom of will.

Ezek. xviiil 20. Gen. ii. 17. Heb. xii 9.

18. THAT original ſin is an idle term; and that there is no ſuch thing as men intend by the word, becauſe God threatned death only to *Adam*, not to his poſterity, and becauſe God createth the ſoul.

Apoc. xiii. 8.

19. THAT if orginal ſin might have paſſed from *Adam* to his poſterity, yet is the iſſue thereof ſtayed by Chriſt's death, which was effectual, and he the lamb of God ſlain from the beginning of the world.

Gen. v. 2, & i. 27. 1 Cor. xv. 49. Rom. iv. 15. —— v. 13. Mat. xiii. 9. Neh. viii. 3. 1 Cor. xv. 49.

20. THAT infants are conceived and born in innocency, without ſin, and therefore they are all undoubtedly ſaved: where there is no law there is no tranſgreſſion: now the law was not given to infants, but to them that could underſtand,

21. THAT all actual ſinners bear the image of the firſt *Adam* in his innocency, fall, and reſtitution, in the offer of grace, and ſo paſs under this threefold eſtate.

Gen. iii. 8, 15. John iii. 16.

22. THAT *Adam* being fallen, God did not hate him, but love ſtill, and ſought his good; neither doth he hate any man, that falleth with *Adam*; but that he loveth mankind, and from his love ſent his only begotten Son to ſave that which was loſt.

Iſa. v. 4. Ezek. xviii. 23, 32. and xxxiii. 11. Luke xiii. 6, 9.

23. THAT God never forſaketh the creature till there be no remedy; neither doth he caſt away his innocent creature from all eternity; but caſteth away men irrecoverable in ſin.

Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Gen. i. 21, 15, 49. and v. 3.

24. THAT as there is in all creatures an inclination to their young, to do them good, ſo in the Lord towards man infinitely; who therefore doth not create, or predeſtinate any

to deſtruction, no more than a father begets his child to the gallows.

26. THAT God hath determined before the world, that the way of ſalvation ſhould be by Chriſt, and foreſeen who would follow it; and alſo who would follow the way of infidelity and impenitency. Eph. i. 4, 5. 2 Tim. i. 9. Jude 4.

27. THAT as God created all men according to his image, ſo hath he redeemed all that fall by actual ſin, to the ſame end; and that God, in his redemption, hath not ſwerved from his mercy, which he manifeſted in his creation. John i. 3, 16. 2 Cor. v. 19. 1 Tim. ii. 6. Ezek. iii. 3. John xvi.

28. GOD, in love to his enemies, gave Chriſt to die, and ſo bought them that deny him. Rom. v. 8. 2 Pet. ii. 2.

30. THAT Chriſt is become the mediator of the new covenant, and prieſt of the church, and hath eſtabliſh'd this new covenant in his blood.

31. THAT the ſacrifice of Chriſt's body and blood, offer'd unto God his Father upon the croſs, though a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour, and that God be well pleaſed in him, doth not reconcile God unto us, who did never hate us, nor was our enemy, but reconcileth us unto God, and ſlayeth the enmity and hatred which is in us againſt God. 2 Cor. v. 19. Eph. ii. 14, 16. Rom. i. 30.

35. THAT the efficacy of Chriſt's death is only derived to them, which mortify their ſins, believe, &c.

56, 57, and 58. are concerning faith, repentance, and regeneration, and are ſaid to contain theſe erroneous aſſertions. That the new creature followeth repentance: That repentance goeth before faith: That man hath power to reject or receive the motions of Luke xiii. 6. Mat. xxiii. 37. Acts vii. 51. and vi. 10.

God's Spirit. That the new creature is part of our Juſtification before God *.

* *This laſt ſentence is not all in Italic, as thoſe are which are their own words.*

James i. 15. 1 Pet. i. 23. 59. THAT God doth not, in our regeneration, uſe the help of any creature; nor doth it by the doctrine of faith and repentance, but immediately in the ſoul.

1 Cor. xiii. 10. 1 John ii. 27. 2 Pet. i. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Eph. iv. 12, 13. 60, 61, 62, 63. THAT the new creature, which is begotten of God, needeth not the outward ſcriptures, creatures, or ordinances of the church to ſupport him, but is above them; ſeeing he hath in himſelf three witneſſes, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt; which are better than all ſcriptures or creatures: though ſuch as have not attained the new creature need them for inſtruction, comfort, and to ſtir them up.

64. THAT the outward and viſible church conſiſts of penitent perſons, and believing only; and that ſuch only are to be baptized.

Rev. i. 10, & xxi. 2, 13, 27. 65. THE viſible church is a figure of the inviſible; and the inviſible conſiſts only of the ſpirits of juſt and perfect men.

67. THAT there is a root of ſin yet abiding in us, which we cannot pluck up out of our hearts.

74. THAT the ſacraments have the ſame uſe that the word hath, and teach to the eye of them that underſtand, as the word teaches Prov. ii. 12. the ears of them that have ears to hear; and that therefore they pertain no more to infants than the word doth.

82. THAT there is no ſucceſſion in that outward church, but that all the ſucceſſion is from heaven, and that the new creature only hath Col. ii. 16, 17. the thing ſignified, and ſubſtance; whereof the

the outward church and ordinances are shadows.

83. THE office of the magistrate is a permissive ordinance of God, &c.

85. THAT Christ's disciples must love their enemies, and not kill them; pray for them, and not punish them, &c. And Christ's disciples must, with him, be persecuted, afflicted, murder'd, &c. and that by the authority of the magistrate.

THAT the magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion; because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conscience.

Lastly, THAT Christians must judge all their causes of difference among themselves; and may not go to law before magistrates, nor use an oath.

NUMB. V.

The ADDRESS *of the* Anabaptists *to King* Charles II. *before his Reſtauration, with their* Propoſitions *annexed, and the* Letter *ſent along with it to his Majeſty, then at* Bruges, *in the year* 1657-8.

Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Folio Edit.* 1719. *Vol.* III. *p.* 359.

To his moſt Excellent Majeſty, Charles *the Second, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

The humble ADDRESS *of the Subſcribers, in the behalf of themſelves, and many thouſands more, your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſubjects.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WHEN we ſit down and recount the wonderful and unheard of diſpenſations of God amongſt us; when we call to our remembrances the tragical actions and tranſactions of theſe late times; when we ſeriouſly conſider the dark and myſterious effects of providence, the unexpected diſappointment of counſels, the ſtrange and ſtrong convulſions of ſtate, the various and violent motions and commotions of the people, the many changes, turnings and overturnings of governors and governments, which, in the revolution of a few years, have been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot but be

even

even ſwallowed up in aſtoniſhment, and are conſtrained to command an unwilling ſilence upon our ſometimes mutinous, and over enquiring hearts, reſolving all into the good will and pleaſure of that all diſpoſing one, whoſe wiſdom is unſearchable, and whoſe ways are paſt finding out.

But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far from us, either peeviſhly, or preſumptouſly, to kick againſt the irreſiſtible decrees of heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm deſigns of ours, to give an interruption to that over-ruling divine hand, which ſteers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country; and ſince it is our lot (we may ſay our unhappineſs) to be embarked in a ſhipwreck'd common-wealth (which, like a poor weather beaten pinnace, has for ſo long a time, been toſſed upon the waves and billows of faction, ſplit upon the rocks of violence, and is now almoſt quite devoured in the quickſands of ambition) what can we do more worthy of *Engliſh-men*, as we are by nation, or of *Chriſtians*, as we are by profeſſion, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and to try if it be the will of our God, that ſuch weak inſtruments as we, may be in any meaſure helpful to bring it at laſt into the ſafe and quiet harbour of juſtice and righteouſneſs.

To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think our ſelves ſo much the more ſtrongly engaged, by how much the more

more we are ſenſible, that as our ſins have been the greateſt cauſes, ſo our many follies and imprudences have not been the leaſt means of giving both birth and growth to thoſe many miſeries and calamities, which we, together with three once moſt flouriſhing kingdoms, do at this day ſadly groan under.

It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleaſing unto us; nor can we believe it will be grateful to your Majeſty, that we ſhould recur to the beginning, riſe, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In ſuch a diſcourſe as this, we may ſeem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afreſh, than to endeavour the curing of them; yet, foraſmuch as we do profeſs that we come not with corroſives, but with balſoms, and that our deſire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar, but oil into the wounds, we hope your Majeſty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and diſcover our own paſt errors the more clearly.

In what poſture the affairs of theſe nations ſtood, before the noiſe of drums and trumpets diſturbed the ſweet harmony that was amongſt us, is not unknown to your Majeſty: That we were bleſt with a long peace, and together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, muſt ever be acknowledged with thankfulneſs to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of thoſe princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious

ous influence of whose care and wisdom we thus flourished. But as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness, and fulness of diet, do, for the most part, lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome medicines; nay, sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most dangerous experiments; so did we find it by sad experience, to be in this great body politick. It cannot be denied but the whole common-wealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be imagin'd. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and excentrical proceedings (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest concernments) manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good government of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own disposition, or from principles of tyranny, radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not see how it can be asserted without apparent injury to the truth; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, that he was a gentleman, as of the most

strong

ſtrong and perfect intellectuals, ſo of the beſt and pureſt morals of any prince that ever ſwayed the *Engliſh* ſcepter. This the then parliament being ſenſible of, and deſirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their ſovereign, to diſpenſe and diſpel thoſe black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might ſhine the more glorious in the beauty of his own luſtre, thought themſelves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem, and reſcue him from the violent and ſtrong impulſes of his evil counſellors; who did captivate him at their pleaſures to their own corrupt luſts; and did every day thruſt him into actions prejudicial to himſelf, and deſtructive to the common good and ſafety of the people: Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at firſt invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cauſe to conclude from what we have ſince ſeen acted, that under thoſe plauſible and guilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were ſecretly managed the helliſh deſigns of wicked, vile and ambitious perſons (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, providence, and the ſeries of things, have ſince diſcover'd to us) yet we bleſs God, that we went out in the ſimplicity of our ſouls, aiming at nothing more but what was publickly owned in the face of the ſun; and that we were ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of caſting off our allegiance to his Majeſty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the leaſt intentions of ſo much as abridging him of any of his juſt prerogatives, but only of reſtraining thoſe exceſſes of government, for the future, which were nothing

thing but the excreſcencies of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens than ornaments of his royal diadem.

THESE things, Sir, we are bold to make recital of to your Majeſty; not that we ſuppoſe your Majeſty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own, and the nation's misfortunes; but like poor wilder'd travellers, perceiving that we have loſt our way, we are neceſſitated, though with tired and irkſome ſteps, thus to walk the ſame ground over again, that we may diſcover where it was that we firſt turned aſide, and may inſtitute a more proſperous courſe in the progreſs of our journey. Thus far we can ſay, we have gone right, keeping the road of honeſty and ſincerity; and having yet done nothing, but what we think we are able to juſtify; not by thoſe weak and beggerly arguments, drawn either from ſucceſs, which is the ſame to the juſt and to the unjuſt, or from the ſilence and ſatisfaction of a becalmed conſcience, which is more often the effect of blindneſs than virtue, but from the ſure, ſafe, ſound, and unerring maxims of law, juſtice, reaſon and righteouſneſs.

IN all the reſt of our motions ever ſince, to this very day, we muſt confeſs, we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of Fanatick and Enthuſiaſtick notions; till now, at laſt, but too late, we find our ſelves intricated and involved in ſo many windings, laberinths, and meanders of knavery,

very, that nothing but a divine clew of thread, handed to us from heaven, can be ſufficient to extricate us, and reſtore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have juſter matter of ſhame or ſorrow adminiſter'd to us, when we take a reflex view of our paſt actions, and conſider, into the commiſſion of what crimes, impieties, wickedneſſes, and unheard of villanies, we have been led, cheated, couſen'd, and betrayed by that grand impoſtor, that loathſome hypocrite, that deteſtable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobium of mankind, that landſkip of iniquity, that ſink of ſin, and that compendium of baſeneſs, who now calls himſelf our protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either helliſh policy was able to contrive, or brutiſh power to execute? We have trampled under foot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our own ſovereign; we have raviſhed our parliaments; we have deflower'd the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's ſafety; we have broken often repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, proteſtations; we have betrayed our truſts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that theſe our ſins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, we have added hypocriſy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious ſtrumpet, wiped our mouths, and boaſted *that we have done no evil*; But in the midſt of all our abominations (ſuch as are too bad to be named amongſt

amongſt the worſt of Heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to ſay, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: let the goſpel be propagated: let the ſaints be dignified: let righteouſneſs be eſtabliſhed: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli.*

Will not the holy one of *Iſrael* viſit? will not the righteous one puniſh? will not he, who is the true and faithful one, be avenged for ſuch things as theſe? will he not, nay, has he not already come forth as a ſwift witneſs againſt us? has he not whet his ſword? has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has he not already begun to ſhoot his arrows at us? who is ſo blind as not to ſee, that the hand of the Almighty is upon us? and that his anger waxes hotter and hotter againſt us? how have our hopes been blaſted? how have our expectations been diſappointed? how have our ends been fruſtrated? All thoſe pleaſant goards, under which we were ſometimes ſolacing and careſſing our ſelves, how are they periſhed in a moment? how are they withered in a night; how are they vaniſhed and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We have ſown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have ſown faction, and have reaped confuſion; we have ſown folly, and we have reaped deceit; when we looked for liberty, behold ſlavery; when we expected righteouſneſs, behold oppreſſion; when we fought for juſtice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry, throughout the whole nation.

EVERY

EVERY man's hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, ſighing, mourning, lamenting and ſaying, I am pained, I am pained! pain, and anguiſh, and ſorrow, and perplexity of ſpirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail; ſurely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet, concerning this the land of our nativity. How does *England* ſit ſolitary? how is ſhe become as a widow? ſhe that was great amongſt the nations, and princeſs among the provinces, how is ſhe now become tributary? ſhe weepeth ſore in the night, her tears are on her cheeks; amongſt all her lovers, ſhe hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherouſly with her, they are become her enemies: ſhe lifted up her voice in the ſtreets; ſhe crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourſe; ſhe ſitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition: is it nothing to you all ye that paſs by? Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is due unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my tranſgreſſions is bound by his hands; they are wreathed and come up upon my neck: he hath made my ſtrength to fall; the Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to riſe up. The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men, in the midſt of me: he hath called an aſſembly to cruſh my young men: he hath trodden me as in a wine preſs: all that paſs clap their hands at me; they hiſs and wag their heads at me, ſaying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty, the

joy

joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths againſt me; they hiſs and gnaſh their teeth; they ſay, we have ſwallowed her up. Certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have ſeen it.

How are our bowels troubled? How are our hearts ſadned? How are our ſouls afflicted, whilſt we hear the groans, whilſt we ſee the deſolation of our dear country? It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that *Sion* ſhould lie any longer in the duſt. But alas! what ſhall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were ſometimes wiſe to pull down, but we now want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were ſtrong to deſtroy, but we are weak to reſtore. Whether ſhall we go for help? Or to whom ſhall we addreſs our ſelves for relief? If we ſay, we will have recourſe to parliament, and they ſhall ſave us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds ſhaken with the wind, they cannot ſave themſelves. If we turn to the army, and ſay, they are bone of our bone, and fleſh of our fleſh, it may be, they will at laſt have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruiſe us, rather than a ſtaff of ſtrength to ſupport us. If we go to him, who hath treacherouſly uſurped, and does tyrannically exerciſe an unjuſt power over us, and ſay to him, free us from this yoke, for it oppreſſeth us, and from theſe burthens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers were ever able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtineſs of his ſpirit, he anſwers us, you are factious, you

are factious: If your burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier: If I have hitherto chaſtiſed you with whips, I will henceforward chaſtiſe you with ſcorpions.

THUS do we fly like partridges hunted from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no reſt; we look this way and that way, but there is none to ſave, none to deliver. At laſt we begun to whiſper, and but to whiſper only, among our ſelves; ſaying one to another, why ſhould we not return to our firſt husband? Surely it will be better with us then, than it is now. At the firſt ſtarting of this queſtion amongſt us, many doubts, many fears, many jealouſies, many ſuſpicions did ariſe within us. We were conſcious to our ſelves, that we had dealt unkindly with him; that we had treacherouſly forſaken him; that we had defiled our ſelves with other lovers; and that our filthineſs was ſtill upon our skirts. Therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? Or if he does receive us, how can he love us? How can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? How can he forget the unkindneſs we have ſhewn unto him in the day of his diſtreſs.

WE muſt confeſs (for we come not to deceive your Majeſty, but to ſpeak the truth in ſimplicity) that theſe cowardly apprehenſions did for a while make ſome ſtrong impreſſions upon us, and had almoſt frighted us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vaniſhed, and gave place to the

more noble and heroic conſiderations of common good, publick ſafety, the honour, peace, welfare, and proſperity of theſe nations; all which we are perſwaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inſeparably, and as naturally bound up in your Majeſty, as heat in fire, or light in the ſun. Contemning therefore, and diſdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private ſafety (which we have no cauſe to deſpair of, having to deal with ſo good and ſo gracious a prince) we durſt not allow of any longer debate about matters of perſonal concernments; but did think our ſelves engaged in duty, honour and conſcience, to make this our humble addreſs unto your Majeſty, and to leave our ſelves at the feet of your mercy: Yet, leſt we ſhould ſeem to be altogether negligent of that firſt good, though ſince diſhonoured cauſe, which God has ſo eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the ſecurity of thoſe, who, together with our ſelves, being carried away with the deluſive and hypocritical pretence of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciouſly, been drawn into a concurrence with thoſe actions which may render them juſtly obnoxious to your Majeſty's indignation. We have preſumed, in all humility, to offer unto your Majeſty theſe few propoſitions hereunto annexed; to which, if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed graciouſly to condeſcend, we do ſolemnly proteſt in the preſence of Almighty God, before whoſe tribunal we know we muſt one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is

dear unto us, for the reſtoring, and re-eſtabliſhing your Majeſty in the throne of your Father; and that we will never be wanting, in a ready and willing compliance to your Majeſty's commands, to approve our ſelves

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

moſt faithful, and moſt devoted

Subjects and Servants,

W. Howard,	*John Wildman,*
Ralph Jennings,	*John Aumigen,*
Edw. Penkaruan,	*Randolph Hedworth,*
John Hedworth,	*Thomas* ———
John Sturgion,	*Richard Reynolds.*

THE earneſt deſires of the ſubſcribers, in all humility preſented to your Majeſty, in theſe following propoſals, in order to an happy, ſpeedy, and well grounded peace in theſe your Majeſty's dominions:

1. FORASMUCH as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late Majeſty, your royal Father, in the year 1640. was never legally diſſolved, but did continue their ſitting until the year 1648. at which time, the army violently and treaſonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever ſince given a continued interruption to their ſeſſion, by taking away the whole houſe of lords, and ſecluding the greateſt part of the houſe of commons; it is therefore humbly deſired, that (to the end we may be eſta-

eſtabliſhed upon the ancient baſis and foundation of law) your Majeſty would be pleaſed, by publick proclamations, as ſoon as it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable, to invite all thoſe perſons, as well lords as commons, who were then ſitting, to return to their places; and that your Majeſty would own them (ſo convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of *England*.

2. THAT your Majeſty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all thoſe things granted, and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the laſt and fatal treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*; as alſo in the making and repealing of all ſuch laws, acts and ſtatutes, as by the parliament ſhall be judged expedient and neceſſary to be made and repealed, for the better ſecuring of the juſt and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and deſtructive exceſſes of government for the future.

3. FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by his death and reſurrection, has purchaſed the liberties of his own people; and is thereby become their ſole Lord and King; to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things ſpiritual: We do therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor ſuffer to be erected, any ſuch tyrannical, popiſh, and anti-chriſtian hierarchy (epiſcopal, preſbyterian, or by what name ſoever it be called) as ſhall aſſume a power over, or impoſe a yoke upon the conſciences of others;

but that every one of your Majesty's subjects may hereafter be at liberty to worship God in such a way, form and manner, as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ revealed in his word, according to that proportion, or measure of faith and knowledge, which they have received.

4. FORASMUCH as the exaction of tithes is a burthen, under which the whole nation groans in general, and the people of God in particular. We would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty's consideration, That, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is called the national ministry; and that those of the separated and congregated churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. FORASMUCH as in these times of licence, confusion and disorder, many honest, godly, and religious persons, by the crafty devices, and cunning pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led, either into the commission of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof they are now ashamed: We do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty, That an act of amnesty and oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging all your Majesty's long deceived and deluded subjects, from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatsoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either against your Ma-

Majeſty's father, or your ſelf, ſince the begining of theſe unhappy wars; excepting only ſuch who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls himſelf protector; or who, in juſtification of his, or any other intereſt, ſhall, after the publication of this act of grace, continue and perſevere in their diſloyalty to your Majeſty. The Letter was as followeth:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

TIME, the great diſcoverer of all things, has at laſt unmaſked the diſguiſed deſigns of this myſterious age, and made that obvious to the dull ſenſe of fools, which was before viſible enough to the quick-ſighted prudence of wiſe men, *viz.* That liberty, religion, and reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceitful baits, by which the eaſily deluded multitude are tempted to a greedy purſuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of theſe fools, I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been one; who have nothing more now to boaſt of, but only that, as I was not the firſt was cheated, ſo I was not the laſt was undeceived; having long ſince, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impoſtor, got ſuch glimpſes, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences of ſanctity, as made me conclude, That the ſeries of affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded genera-

tion of their errors; and make them affrightedly to ſtart from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and reverenced as the beautiful image of a deity.

Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged the ſearcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite; but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of all his idolatrous worſhippers, has, by the unſearchable wiſdom of his deep-laid counſels, lighted ſuch a candle into the dark dungeon of his ſoul, that there is none ſo blind, who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiouſneſs, diſſimulation, atheiſm, hypocriſy, and all manner of villany, written in large characters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares open his mouth in juſtification of him, for fear of incurring the deſerved character of being a profeſſed advocate for all wickedneſs, and a ſworn enemy to all virtue.

This was no ſooner brought forth, but preſently I conceived hopes of being able, in a ſhort time, to put in practice thoſe thoughts of loyalty to your Majeſty, which had long had entertainment in my breaſt; but till now were forced to ſeek concealment under a ſeeming conformity to the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to theſe deſigns, was happily adminiſtred by the following occaſion:

Great was the rage, and juſt the indignation of the people, when they firſt found the authority of their parliament ſwallowed up

up in the new name of a protector; greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they obſerved, that under the ſilent, modeſt, and flattering title of this protector, was ſecretly aſſumed a power more abſolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any king. The pulpits ſtraightway ſound with declarations *; the ſtreets are filled with paſquils and libels; every one expreſſes a deteſtation of this innovation by publick invectives; and all the nation, with one accord, ſeems at once to be inſpired with one and the ſame reſolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and force, which was treacherouſly ſtolen from them by deceit and fraud.

* *I ſuppoſe it ſhould be declamations.*

When they had for a while exerciſed themſelves in tumultuary diſcourſes (the firſt effects of popular diſcontents) at length they began to contrive by what means to free themſelves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the male-contents enter into conſultations amongſt themſelves, to which they were pleaſed to invite and admit me. Being taken into their counſels, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint my ſelf fully with the tempers, inclinations, diſpoſitions, and principles of them; which (though all meeting and concentring in an irreconcileable hatred and animoſity againſt the uſurper) I found ſo various in their ends, and ſo contrary in the means conducing to thoſe ends, that they do naturally fall under the diſtinction of different parties.

Some,

Some, drunk with enthuſiaſms, and beſotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a ſhare in government beſides the ſaints; and theſe are called *Chriſtian Royaliſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-men*. Others, violently oppoſing this, as deſtructive to the liberty of the free-born people, ſtrongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual ſucceſſion of parliaments, conſiſting of equal repreſentatives; and theſe ſtile themſelves *Common Wealth's-men*. A third party there is, who, finding by the obſervation of theſe times, that parliaments are better phyſick than food, ſeem to encline moſt to *Monarchy*, if laid under ſuch reſtrictions as might free the people from the fear of *tyranny*; and theſe are contented to ſuffer under the opprobious name of *Levellers*: To theſe did I particularly apply my ſelf; and after ſome few days conference with them in private by themſelves apart, I was ſo happy in my endeavours as to prevail with ſome of them to lay aſide thoſe vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon paſſion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your Majeſty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the reſt, as could ſafely be intruſted with a buſineſs of this nature (the ſucceſs whereof does principally depend upon the ſecret management of it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and eſtabliſh them, as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them ſo far in an humble addreſs unto your Majeſty,

jeſty, that they might not know how to make either a ſafe, or an honourable retreat.

I MUST leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy Gentleman, by whoſe hands it is conveyed, to make anſwer to any ſuch objections as may perhaps be made by your Majeſty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your Majeſty in mind of, That they are but young proſelytes, and are not to be driven *lento pede*, leſt, being urged at firſt too violently, they ſhould reſiſt the more refractorily.

As to the quality of the perſons, I cannot ſay, they are either of great families, or great eſtates. But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not determine; they are ſuch who may be more ſerviceable to your Majeſty in this conjuncture, than thoſe whoſe names ſwell much bigger than theirs, with the addition of great titles. I durſt not undertake to perſuade your Majeſty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your counſels are governed; but this I ſhall crave leave to ſay, that I have often obſerved, that a deſperate game at cheſs has been recovered after the loſs of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the ſubſcribers may not be of the ſame uſe to your Majeſty, if well managed, I cannot deſpair; eſpecially at ſuch a time as this, when there is ſcarce any thing but pawns left upon the board; and thoſe few others that are left, may juſtly be complained of in the words of *Tacitus*, *Præſentia*

& tuta, quàm vetera & periculoſa malunt omnes.

I HAVE many things more to offer unto your Majeſty, but, fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I ſhall defer the mention of them at preſent; intending, as ſoon as I hear how your Majeſty reſents this overture, to wait upon your Majeſty in perſon; and then to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compaſs of an addreſs of this nature. In the mean time, if our ſervices ſhall be judged uſeful to your Majeſty, I ſhall humbly deſire ſome ſpeedy courſe may be taken for the advance of two thouſand pounds; as well for the anſwering the expectation of thoſe whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of ſeveral other neceſſary expences, which do, and will every day inevitably come upon us in the proſecution of our deſign. What more is expedient to be done by your Majeſty, in order to the encouragement and ſatisfaction of thoſe gentlemen, who already are, or hereafter may be brought over to the aſſiſtance of your Majeſty's cauſe and intereſt, I ſhall commit to the care of this honourable perſon; who, being no ſtranger to the complexion, and conſtitution of thoſe with whom I have to deal, is able ſufficiently to inform your Majeſty by what ways and means they may be laid under the ſtrongeſt obligations to your Majeſty's ſervice.

FOR

For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a full essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty; so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

FINIS.

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W